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REMARKS

UPON THE F. 2. 46

Present Confederacy,

AND

Late Revolution

IN



ENGLAND, &c.

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Printed in the Year MDCXCIII.

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REMARKS UPON THE Present Confederacy, &c.

THE most formidable Enterprize, no doubt, that ever was level'd against the growing Grandeur of *France*, during the long and successful Reign of *Lewis le Grande*, was this late Confederacy, form'd by the most powerful Princes in all Europe: An Undertaking of so dangerous consequence to that Prince, that if their Carrier had not been stopt by a surprising Providence, and diverted by the wonderful Vigilance and Activity of that truly greatest Prince in all these parts of the World, that Monarchy by this time had laid expiring. As the Confederates had resolutely, and with prodigious Prospects of Advantage to themselves agreed upon this Design; so to facilitate it had sagaciously enough foreseen what Remoraes might lie in their way, and as resolutely determin'd to remove them, *right or wrong*. *England*, which had for some years past skreen'd them from those violent, and otherwise irresistible, shocks they were expos'd to from *France*, was most feared at this time would stand in their way; and to speak the Truth, from the Experience we have had of the *French* Power and Policy during this War, the least Assistance from her, or a meer *Neutrality*, had left them to the Mercy and entire Disposal of their Enemy. This, I say, was politickly enough foreseen, and by most wicked and unjust means for some time at least prevented; though by comparing the Successes on both sides hitherto, cannot in all humane probability be long protracted: But more of this afterwards. To accomplish this Grand Design of theirs, King *James* must be deposed, to make way for the Ambition and Pride of another, the most likely to carry on the War against *France*; if we either consider that height of Malice which he had long

ago conceived against that Monarch, chiefly from his being so frequently baffled in *Holland* and *Flanders*, by the Bravery of his Generals there; or that Natural Malignity in his very Constitution, derived from his Ancestors, who had never been famous for their Loyalty to their own Princes, or Affection for Crowned Heads. This they concluded feasible enough, not being ignorant of the ambitious Designs the Prince of Orange had been carrying on for several years in *England* of mounting that Throne, by having a hand in all the Plots against King *Charles* the Second; but especially his *Father-in-law*, to exclude him, and what not; and the Dispositions he had laid in order to that End, by his corrupting the greatest Ministers of State under that unfortunate Prince, to take advantage from his Religion, to which the *English* are naturally averse, to put him upon some Acts which would in all likelihood alienate his Subjects Affections from him, and make the P. or O's Access the more easy. All this being well known to many of the Confederate Princes, they had no more to do but to sound his Inclination somewhat nearer, and proffer him their Assistance for the obtaining of what he so eagerly desired, and by all indirect means pursued. To this end having engaged themselves and him in the strict bonds of a Confederacy, they immediately lent him such Assistance as was requisite to land him in *England*, where all things were ready to his hand, and there most wickedly deposed King *James* II.

I confess some are apt to alledge that the Prince of Orange exceeded his Commission, and acted directly contrary to the Determination of the Confederacy, their sole Aim being onely by this Invasion to draw King *James* in to their Designs: But if we consider those notable Hints in the foreign Papers upon this occasion, particularly *The General History of Europe*, published in French, at the Hague, by the Authority of the States of *Holland* and *West Friesland*, we may be easily inclined to believe the contrary, out of which I shall present the Reader with some remarkable Passages, and leave it to him to judge, whether what I have laid down for my Principle does not look highly probable.

Historical Account for the Month of November, in the Article of Advice from England, 1688.

“ The King's Fleet (that is, King *James*'s,) is about forty three
 “ Men of War, ten Fireships; but though commanded by the Earl of
 “ *Dartmouth*, who is entirely for the King's Interest, 'tis thought the
 “ Seamen, and many of the Officers, will not perform that Duty which
 “ the King expects from them.

Reflexions upon the Advice from Holland, the same Month.

“ The Expence that has been bestowed upon the Fleet and Army set
 “ forth from *Holland*, is a sign they are morally assured of the Success

“ of the Enterprize, which I am apt to believe *has been a long time ago*
 “ in *Agitation*, though it was carried on with that Prudence and Secre-
 “ cy, as not to be discovered till it could not be longer concealed.

Advice from Germany, Decemb. 1688.

“ The Confederates are arrived in *Franconia*, where they stay till
 “ General *Dunwald* comes up to join them with the Emperor's Forces,
 “ to the end they may march together, &c. Nevertheless when they
 “ are joined, there is great probability they will do nothing till they
 “ hear what the Prince of *Orange* does in *England*; for he is at present
 “ the *primum Mobile* of all things.

Reflexions upon the Advice from France, Decemb. 1688.

“ 'Tis thought that Monsieur *Seignelay*'s Journey to visit the Coasts
 “ was particularly occasioned by the turn of Affairs in *England*, &c.
 “ But now all those Journeys will signifie little; for if Heaven conti-
 “ nues Prosperity to the Prince of *Orange*, of necessity the most Christian
 “ King must quit the Ocean.

Reflexions upon the Advice from England the same Month.

“ So soon as the Enterprize of the Prince of *Orange* was discoursed
 “ of all Men imagined that he was sure of the greatest part of the No-
 “ bility of *England*. Some put the question whether he will dethrone
 “ his Father in Law, or whether, &c. he'll be contented with the Ho-
 “ nour of having saved the Protestant Religion, and the Liberty of the
 “ *English* Nation.—For my part I believe an Accommodation will be
 “ a difficult thing.—I make no question but the next Parliament King
 “ *James* will be declared to have forfeited his Crown.

Reflexions on the Advice from Germany, February 1689.

“ I am apt to believe they are not to be called by the name of Poli-
 “ ticians, who imagine that the Emperor caused the Marquess of *Luci-*
 “ *gnan* to be seised, that he might have an opportunity to enter into a
 “ Negotiation. Then again, What was befalln the Emperor since un-
 “ known to us that should enforce him to alter his Conduct? If it had
 “ been that the Affairs in *England* went ill on the P. of O's side, that had
 “ been a Reason indeed; — but all the World knows there is no
 “ such thing; the Prince of *Orange* has been crowned, &c. To all which
 “ I shall add a remarkable Passage out of the *French King's* Declaration
 “ of War against *Spain*: Amongst other Motives he declares, That he
 “ is informed what share the Governour of the *Spanish* Low Countries
 “ had in the Prince of *Orange's* Enterprize against *England*; but not
 “ believing what he did was done by his Master's Command, his Majesty
 “ was in good hopes to have persuaded his most *Catholic Majesty* to have
 “ joined with him for the Restoration of the lawful King of *England*, &c.
 “ To which purpose he made several Proposals that were all received
 “ whilst the Success of the Prince of *Orange* continued doubtfull; but
 when

“ when 'twas known at *Madrid* that the King of *England* had left his
 “ Kingdom, then nothing was thought of but War with *France*. That
 “ his Majesty was also farther informed, that the *Spanish Ambassadour*
 “ in *England* visited the Prince of *Orange* every day, and importuned
 “ him to declare War against *France*, &c. But finding that his most
 “ Catholick Majesty was resolved, &c. *Gen. Hist. of Europe, Vol. 1.*
Month Apr. 89.

As to this last passage I am sensible many prejudiced persons will be ready to object the little Reputation the *French* King and his Ministers have had for their Veracity these many Years; but if we reflect on the vast Charge he is constantly at for Intelligence in all places where he is concerned, and how much it imported him to find out the Mystery of the Confederacy, it ought in some measure at least to incline us to credit him, especially when it's notoriously known he had intimated to King *James*, some considerable time before he could give credit to it, the Design of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *States General*, against him; and proffered him such Assistance, that if he had complied with it, would have effectually prevented this late Revolution in *Great Britain*, and consequently this bloody and desperate War, which has been the sad Effect of it. And there are some persons now living, of unquestionable Integrity, and sufficient Interest to know the truth of it, who assert, that *Don Ronquillo*, the late *Spanish Ambassadour*, plainly told King *James*, that if we would not be induced to join in the Confederacy with the *Empire* and *Spain*, against *France*, he would run the hazard of losing his Crown; so certain it is that the Revolution here was an immediate Effect of the Consultations and Resolutions of the Confederacy, though not publicly enough hitherto understood, to the great injury of the King, and per-
 version of his Subjects.

These Passages out of a publick Account of the Affairs of *Europe*, allowed to be published, and (as we are obliged to suppose) approved by the *States General* for the present, (till something more material be offered by more capable and intelligent Persons,) may seem to any reasonable man a sufficient Proof of my Assertion, that what the Pr. of *Orange* has lately transacted there, was not managed by him alone against the Intentions of the rest of the Confederacy: If so, why did not they remonstrate against his Proceedings, by their Ambassadors to King *James*, and the Prince of *Orange* too; and, as in Honour bound, contribute their Assistance, when especially requested to it, towards his Restoration? Nay, why did they on the contrary by their respective Ambassadors and Envoys congratulate the Prince and Princess of *Orange's* Accession to the Throne, and by this means virtually declare to all the World, that King *James* was justly deposed, and that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* were become the lawfull and rightfull King and Queen of *England*?

So

So that the more nicely we examine the methods of the Prince of Orange's Proceedings, the greater reason we have to conclude this Objection to be a meer Sham and Excuse. His charging his Father in law with Male-administration, *Violating the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, with setting up the Roman Catholick Religion, imposing a Supposititious Heir upon the Three Kingdoms, in order to put by the Succession of his own Children, meerly on the account of Religion, &c.* What was all this to the business of France and the Confederates? The only thing in the Prince of Orange's Declaration, that makes for the business pretended, is the *Private League* Offensive and Defensive between King James and France; which notwithstanding could never be produced, and exposed to the view of the World; and if it had been so, could never be any just pretence for their assisting to invade him, unless it had been contrary to former Alliances between him and them; none of which appearing, it is altogether as frivolous as many other Shams in that Master-piece of Villany, the fore-mentioned Declaration. Upon these Suppositions then 'tis apparent, that that which was to give Life unto the Confederacy, and bring it into Act, was the pulling down King James, and setting up the Prince of Orange; so that before all this was accomplish'd, the Confederacy was but an *Embryo*, and no better than a Conditional Stipulation; and upon the unsuccessfulness of the Prince of Orange would have been stifled and vanish'd into nothing. There was no War declared, before this Gentleman was most Traiterously Proclaimed King; but by the Duke of Bavaria, Nov. 10. as you may see in the *London Gazette*: The Emperor and Dutch did not till March - 89. and in all probability it had not been done afterward on the Confederates side, if this *Preludium* to all the rest had miscarried. To this effect we may remember that the Dutch Ambassadour, when charged by King James in the behalf of his Masters, the States General, with assisting the Prince of Orange with Men, Money, Arms, &c. for his Expedition, (against the express Articles of Peace and Alliance made between King Charles the Second, of blessed Memory, and the States of the United Netherlands, 1667. particularly the 11th Article, wherein it was agreed, ' That the said King of Great Britain, and the said States General, remain Friends, Confederates, united and allied for the Defence, and Preservation of the Rights, Liberties, and Immunities of either Allie, and their Subjects, against all who shall endeavor to disturb the Peace of either by Sea or Land. And *Artic. 13.* ' That neither the said King, nor the said Commonwealth, nor any of the Subjects of either, inhabiting or residing within their Jurisdiction, shall cherish and assist the Rebels of either party, with any Succour, Counsel, or Favour whatsoever; but shall expose and effectually hinder all persons abiding, residing, or dwelling in either of their Dominions, from supplying or furnishing any of those foresaid Rebels

' Rebels by Sea or Land with Arms, Succour or Assistance either in Men,
 ' Ships, Arms, or Warlike Furniture, &c. And Article 14. ' That the
 ' King of *Great Britain*, and the said *States General* shall Mutually, Sin-
 ' cerely, and Faithfully as there is occasion, assist each other against the
 ' Rebels of either by Sea or Land, with Men, Ships, &c. Article 15.
 ' That neither the said *King*, nor the said *Commonwealth*, nor the Subjects
 ' of either, shall in any of their Jurisdictions, Countries, &c. receive
 ' any Rebel or Rebels, Fugitive or Fugitives declared, or to be decla-
 ' red, &c.) pretended to know nothing of it; which is a plain Indica-
 tion they would have insisted upon that denial, and urged it in their own
 Vindication, if that Project had not succeeded, to prevent a Storm from
 King *James* and the K. of *France*; and it would have equally served the
 rest of the *Confederates* too: But as soon as they heard his Enterprize had
 its desired effect, the next thing we heard of, was the *States Manifesto*
 owning the whole business, justifying themselves, and applauding the He-
 roick Attempt of the Prince of *Orange*. From what has been hitherto
 said, I shall beg leave to infer, That this *Revolution* was the Contrivance
 of the *Confederates* in general, and not the Prince of *Orange's* separately
 from them, but in Conjunction with them; That all his Motives, of
 what nature soever, were meerly introductory to it; and that the most
 principal of them that seemed the most justifiable of his Proceedings,
 were calculated only to serve the Malicious and Disaffected part of the
 Nation, and to wheedle and amuse the rest into a Compliance with him;
 That if those had not been subtilly thought on, others would not have
 been wanting; That he had no design to secure Religion, vindicate
 Justice, to assert the Liberties, or secure the Properties of the People,
 but to execute the Designs of the *Confederates* in general, and to serve
 his own Ambition, and unsatisfied Thirst after Empire in particular;
 That therefore the *Grand Presumptions* (as he terms it) of the *Supposi-*
tiousness of the Prince of *Wales*, of the *Private League* between K. *James*
 and the K. of *France*, the introducing of *Arbitrary Power*, *Papery*, &c.
 were meer Cant, and nothing to the purpose, he having not performed
 any thing promised in that *Declaration*, but acted quite contrary; and
 for corroborating my main Position, I shall proceed to shew what pecu-
 liar Advantages the rest of the *Confederates* proposed to themselves by
 such a *Revolution* in *England*, which may induce all impartial Readers to
 subscribe to the Truth of what I have hitherto said.

The principal Advantage the *Confederates* in general, exclusive of the
 P. of *Orange* proposed to themselves by this *Revolution*, was to have the
 Kingdom of *Great Britain*, one of the Strongest and most Flourishing
 Monarchies in *Europe*, at their entire Devotion, to draw off Men and
 Money at their pleasure, so long as they could keep this new set-up King
 in the Throne; an advantage so considerable, that whilst they can do
 this;

this, and any Wealth remains in *England*, they are sure to make the cheapest Experiment they could possibly devise, and withall the most powerful effort imaginable towards the reducing the growing Power of *France*, and retrieving their former losses: And however the insatuated and easily deluded *Populace* of *England* may seem to despise the *Confederates* in their Discourse; yet it's evident enough, that so long as this *Confederacy* holds, and no longer, shall they keep their new King; it being sufficiently apparent to any one of common Sense, that if the whole and entire *Confederacy* have had hitherto enough to do, to oppose *France* even in the lowest degree, it is more than demonstration, that she alone will be able to do it least; for I must take it as granted, that if *England* breaks from the *Confederacy*, the *Confederates* must of necessity knock quite off, and make their best terms at any rate, and consequently unite with *France* against *England*, which we are well assured that King will oblige them to, in order to the compleating that most Glorious Resolution which he has so often made, and will eternize his Memory, of the Restoring that Unfortunate Prince and Martyr for his sake, the true and lawfull King of *England*. This supposition, I hope, will without much difficulty be granted me, if we consider the great losses of the *Confederates* on all sides, their apparent Poverty, and inability to carry on the War at their sole Charge, that *England* is their principal support, and has been all this War, that without the continuation of Assistance from hence, they must break, and *England* compelled to submit to her Lawfull and most Injured Sovereign again, which all these *Allies* know they would not be easily or suddenly inclined to from the Sense of their horrid Guilt, and dread of his just Resentment; and therefore till meer Necessity and the utmost Extremity drives them to it, they are sure to drain them at their pleasure.

Another advantage the *Confederates* propos'd to reap by the late Revolution here, and by engaging these Nations into the *Confederacy* is this, (supposing their successfulness in Attacking *France*) that whatever Cities or Territories should be recovered, or won from the *French*, should either revert to their old respective Owners, or be acquired to some of the rest of the *Confederates* exclusive of the Prince of *Orange*, as should be agreed by them. This is natural and easie enough to be supposed; for can any one imagine, should the late pretended Design of the Prince of *Orange* to attempt the taking of *Dunkirk*, *Ipres*, or *Namur*, have been effected, that the King of *Spain* would have resigned his right in them to him, and permitted them to be annex to the Crown of *England*, since 'tis evident beyond all contradiction, that the ground of this *Confederacy* as is published by them to all the World, was to make War upon *France*, in order to recover what they urged was some time since so unjustly ravished from them by that *Monarch*; and nothing of this nature could

ever be pretended with truth by the Prince of *Orange* as King of *England*, we have not lost one single Town to the *French*? So that it is manifest, all the Prodigious Expence we have been at to carry on the War in *Flanders* and *Piedmont*, was not in order to recover any thing from *France* that we had any right to, but only to assist the rest of the *Confederates* in regaining what was lately theirs; and pray what advantage is this to us? And let the War in the conclusion, be as successful as can be wish'd, we shall only have the honour in assisting to debilitate *France* by weakening our selves, and enriching the *Confederates* by impoverishing and reducing poor *England*. But perhaps it may be alledged, that what has been urged in reference to the retaking of such places as have been unjustly taken from the *Confederates* by *France*, will be readily granted; but what Acquists the *English* shall make in *France* it self, will be their own. As to this I answer: By the late Project of Invading *France*, we may be satisfied that there was no manner of appearance it would be so, if it had been attempted, and really succeeded: For supposing they had landed at *Bayonne*, marched into *Provence* and *Dauphine*, it was with a design to joyn the Duke of *Savoy's* and the rest of the *Confederate* Forces, to make Reprisals for what the *French* had acted in *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*, or in order to retake such places as formerly belonged to that Prince, now in the Possession of the *French*. This is so probable, nay, next to certain, that it's non-sense to think otherwise, no possible Acquists on that side being answerable either to the Charge of taking or keeping by the *English*: Neither can it be congruous to common Sense, that it could be of any Interest to the Duke of *Savoy* to assist the others in Subjugating any part of *France* to the *English*, whilst most of his own Countrey was already subdued, and in the hands of the *French*. Again, granting that the other design of Beseiging *Dunkirk* with the Transport Forces from *England*, had answered common expectation, *Dunkirk* all the World knows was formerly the *Spaniards*, the most important Garison and Port that belonged to *Flanders*; and can any one so much as fancy that the King of *Spain* would ever have been contented it should be an Appendage to *England*, when it was alone of greater consequence to that Monarch to recover, than half of what he had hitherto lost in *Flanders*? Or do we think the *English* Army alone was in a capacity to undertake the Seige of such a Garrison, and carry it; or if it were jointly performed with the rest of the *Confederate* Army, that they would tamely let the Prince of *Orange* have the sole honour of winning and wearing it too? This can never enter into the Head of the meanest Dotard, and therefore the direct contrary must necessarily be admitted.

The next Advantage, and that of no mean consequence neither, that the *Confederates* have from our *Revolution*, besides that of making these Experiments upon *France* at the vast expence of our Blood and Treasure,

is, that if no possible hopes remain of attaining their Ends upon their common Enemy, as they phrase it, they have a fair opportunity of making their Peace, whether *England* consent or not: This must be acknowledged a prodigious one, if duly considered; for when the worst comes to the worst, the leaving *England* (which in reality has been the most powerfull as well as the most malicious Enemy) to the just Resentments of *France*, will almost amount to an Expiation for all the envious Designs they have all this while formed against her, and by a timely Desertion of her, or in conjunction with *France* against her, will in some measure atone for those Injuries they have done to her lawfull Monarch, and indeed to themselves, and all the Crowned Heads in the World, by so wicked a Precedent as they have given: This is a plain Case, and must be owned a singular Advantage on their side. All will agree 'tis no way feasible for *England*, resolving to maintain the P. of O. in the possession of the Crown he has basely usurpt, ever to come to any sort of an Accommodation with *France*, exclusive of *them*; and that they, if necessitated, can and will, without him; it being impossible for us to wage War against *France* and *them* to, when we with all the united Forces of the *Allies* were not able to make the least impression against the former.

The Objection that may be made to this Advantage of the *Confederates*, exclusive of *England*, is this, viz. That by the Articles of the *Confederacy* it's stipulated that no one of them shall make a separate Peace.

To this it may be replied, That this Provision or Caution at first sight may seem to be of some force, to keep such of them who are the weakest, and the most contiguous, within the bounds of it, for fear of being outraged, and treated as Enemies by the rest; but as for the more potent or remote, it can be of little moment, especially after the sad Experience of their declining Condition, and the sensible and irresistible Growth of the hitherto so much envied Power of *France*. The utmost Fury of the *Allies* has been already spent, and their utmost Efforts by Sea and Land, and all to their own loss, and the Interest of their Enemy. That brave Army under the Command of the Duke of *Lorrain*, a great part of which consisted of those veterane Troops that for several years had signalised themselves against the Turks, were broken and shattered in pieces the very first Campaign; by which means the Emperour has been extremely weakened both in *Hungary* and *Germany*, and the Enemy left at liberty to doe what he pleases on the *Rhine* and the *Mosell* ever since; the strongest part of *Flanders* lost; the Duke of *Savoy* upon the brink of Ruine; all *Savoy* gone; *Piedmont* in a sinking Condition; the Commerce in all these Princes Countries destroyed: So that what they took to be one of the surest Methods of reducing *France*, has fallen most heavy upon themselves; nothing but Misery and an universal Discontent, with an utter despair of ever succeeding in their Enterprizes against their Enemy

multiplying among them; and *England*, which has been their best Support, hitherto growing less able and willing to go on with the War, and more disappointed perhaps than any of the rest. These Considerations laid together, and seriously weighed, will more than evince my Assertion, and confute the Objection, since what has been for the most part practised in the like Cases, may be now; That it has been no unusual thing for some of a *Confederacy* (when altogether worsted, and ready to be over-run by their Adversaries,) to make their best Advantage of a separate Peace, when they could not bring down the haughty and stubborn Spirits of the rest to their Sentiments and Resolutions; especially when convinced by wofull Experience, that it would be their onely Honour and Interest so to doe, whereas at first they were really trickt into it against both. That this may be the Case of some of these united Princes, will be no hard task to demonstrate; as for instance: What Honour was it for the Duke of *Savoy* to enter into the Confederacy against his Uncle, the best and most potent Friend he had, whose annual *Pension* to him for some years amounted to a greater Summ than the Revenues of his Principality? What Honour to his Religion to entertain a hodgepodge of all Opinions, contrary to the Principles of his own; to permit them to preach up their filthy Cant where ever they go, and to gratifie their *Gorbish* and brutish Zeal in the profaning all that is sacred, and looks like good, by their irreligious and unchristian Behaviour, and such Villanies as are not fit to be named among Christians? What Honour was it for him to let out his own native Countrey for a Cockpit to the rest of the Confederates, (and in particular to the K of *Spain*, and the *Dutch*, for I must reckon the P. of O. among them,) who had violated all their former Leagues with two *Crowned Heads*, to try tricks whether they could by that means divert the *War* from their own doors, to the Devastation of his Territories, and Ruine of himself and poor Subjects, beyond any Recompence all of them together can ever make him, when he had such Advantages at the same time offered him by *France*, of encreasing his own and Subjects Wealth and Prosperity beyond any of his Ancestors? What Honour is it for him to bring upon himself the just Hatred and Indignation of all his neighbouring Princes, for the perpetual Insults, Ravages, and Plunderings they are exposed to in quartering Foreigners upon his Account? What Honour for that miserable infatuated Prince to be complemented by the *Emperour* and the King of *Spain* with the empty Title of *Generalissimo*, and yet be over-ruled in all his Projects and Designs by their Generals, as is evident from their refusing to attack *Briancon* and *Queiras*, where he might have put in strong Garrisons, and from thence have summoned in the Countrey to bring in their Contributions, and have ordered every thing to better Advantage, and with more Reputation than he has done; and all this perhaps with as

little

little loss as the taking of *Guillestre* and *Ambrun*, which he has been forced at last to quit shamefully? What Honour was it to him, that the *Germans* against his Consent, and Remonstrances to the contrary, should commit such horrid Barbarities by their burning and destroying, for which he and his half ruined Country must be accountable, to the utter Destruction of it; or at least be forced to such an Accommodation (unless the *French King* be superlatively generous) as will in all probability leave only the empty Title of Dukes of *Savoy* to him and his Posterity? To conclude, What Honour has it been to him, by the Importunities of his perfidious and impotent *Allies*, to persist in his Stubbornness, and to refuse so many good Overtures as have been made him, (since the loss of all *Savoy*, and the perpetual Disappointments of competent Succours articulated for in the very Alliances between him, the Emperor, and *Spain*, &c. after his most pressing instances made for them at their respective Courts, and as many empty Promises from them,) and opportunities of healing himself again in due time, (the *French King* having proffered him blanks to write his own Conditions,) and this since he was, humanely speaking, past all hopes of regaining any thing by the greatest Opposition he could make? Since then 'tis evident that this Prince has engaged himself against his Honor and Interest, unless we will suppose him incapable of the least degree of good Sense, and irrecoverably desperate, he will not after so many fruitless Attempts, and the base Disappointments of all that Assistance promised him from the *Empire*, *Spain*, and *England*, reject those Offers which are now made him of an Accommodation by the *Fr. King* and his *Holiness*. All that he can expect from the Confederacy is only a little *Subsistence-money*, to act defensively, since the *French Forces* daily augment upon him, and all imaginable Care is taken to strengthen the Garisons on that side by new Works, and to shut him out of *Provence* and *Dauphine* for the time to come. And since the rest of the Confederates have been hitherto, notwithstanding their utmost Endeavours to encrease their Forces, inferiour to their Enemy, and he grows stronger, and they weaker, and out of condition either to repair his Losses, or prevent their own; there's no other Method left him, but either to comply, or fall dishonourably and unpitied. There is no great difficulty to shew this to be the State of that deluded Prince, since all the World is convinc'd, that he had the best prospect of disembarassing his Affairs this last Campaign that ever he could or can expect. The *P. of O.* promised him to land an Army at *Bayonne*, thence to march into *Provence* and *Dauphine* to join him; as did likewise the *K. of Spain*. *England* by that casual Advantage at Sea was entirely Mistress in that Element all the year, (at least for that purpose,) had a powerfull Navy wholly at leisure ever since to prosecute it, there being no probability of any Opposition, and 16000 Men, with a vast Train of Artillery, and Munitions of both sorts, originally

originally design'd for that Enterprize, which if it had been put in Execution, would in the opinion of all Mankind have exercised the Fineness and Politicks of *France*, more than any thing that ever was, or can be attempted for the future. This, I say, was the onely nicking Opportunity for *Savoy*, while the *French* were visibly weak at Sea, and altogether unprovided to make any *resistance* at Land on *that side*; but by what Fate I cannot tell, all these Prospects utterly vanish'd, to the astonishment of all *Europe*, without leaving the least Effect but want of Policy, and the indelible Character of a *panick Fear*, downright Cowardice or Desperation, and more than an Improbability of ever having the same opportunity again; besides the sad *Prognostick*, that all's running down on the Confederates Side, and *Providence* clearly on that of *France*. As to what may be pretended, that the *same Designs* may be prosecuted the next Campaign, &c. it is easy to urge that there's no manner of likelihood it can be, since 'tis well known that *France* will be provided of as good, or a much better Fleet than she ever had, by that time; and that since the World is now convinced that they can and will fight, and dare attempt any thing; and that 44 of their Men of War were able to make good their parts against 99 of their Enemies, and with the Addition but of 20 more in all probability had worsted them; that a Fleet of the *French* by 20 inferior to the others, for the future will be match enough for them: Nay, if we may credit our foreign Advices, they'l have by the next Spring a Fleet every way equal to that of *England* and *Holland*, let them both build, and put out what they can make; and then it's a clear Case that the *Design* of landing an Army to join *Savoy*, or any where else on the *French* Coasts, will be impracticable. But then again let us consider, Is there any greater likelihood that the *Confederates* will be superiour to the *French* by Land the ensuing Campaign than this last? They had made, we all know, their utmost Efforts in order to it before, and yet the Pr. of O. told the *States* at his parting, that the cause of all the miscarriages of *this* last must be imputed to the *Inferiority* of their Forces to those of *France*; and we may modestly suppose, that 30000 Men will hardly recruit the *Confederates* Loss, by the *Sword*, *Sickness*, and *Desertion*; and that their *Augmentation* will not be near half part so great as that of their Enemy; so that they must be inferior yet in a double respect, both in Men, and Conduct; and if so, of doing less than ever: For *France* has not lost a quarter part so many as *they*, and it's reasonable enough to suppose they have raised near as many since the Campaign was opened upon the Account of the Descent from *England*, besides the standing regular Troops of *Irish*, &c. in *Normandy*, and other Provinces, that never came into any Service; and his Augmentation, besides Recruits, our *Monthly Account* tells us will amount to above 40000 Men, (though
I am

I am inclined to think, by comparing the foreign Accounts, they cannot amount to much less than 80000.) Besides, his *Cavalry* will be prodigiously reinforced: We are told the *Jews* at *Metz*, *Treves*, and *Luxembourg*, have engaged to procure him 20 or 30000 Horses, which with the 2000 the *Marquess d'Harcourt* took from the *Lunenburgers*, those taken by *de Lorge* in the Defeat of the Prince of *Wirtenburgh*, and which *Bouffleurs* drove away from the Territories of *Liege*, *Bois le Duc*, &c, will be able to mount 40000 Men, without reckoning what *France* and all his new *Conquests* will afford him. Add to these last Considerations the vast *Wealth* of *France*, as may appear by the free Gift of several Provinces, the numerous *Edicts* for erecting new *Offices*, (which we hear never want *Purchasers*), *Augmentations* of *Salaries*, and his *Standing Revenues*, besides the great *Summs* of *Money*, or *Equivalents* to *Money*, brought in by way of *Contribution*, the multitudes of *English* and *Dutch* *Prizes*, the *Prodigious* *Wariness* and *Sagacity* of that Prince in providing all sorts of *Ammunition* and *Provisions* for the use of the *Fleet* and *Armies* at the lowest *Rates*, and managing all to the best *Advantage*; here are such *Funds* laid up for the carrying on all his *Designs*, that humanely speaking he cannot readily miscarry in the *Execution* of them, and such a *Prospect* of *Success* as all the *Power* and *Malice* of the *Confederates* can never defeat. In short, the *Inference* I draw from the *Premises* is this, That in all probability *Savoy* must break off from his hitherto unfortunate *Alliance*, and submit; that if he will do it, it is his true and only *Interest*; that his *Allies* have most ignominiously, and contrary to their *Treaty* exposed him to *Ruine*, by failing in assisting him in those *Enterprises* which were most likely to serve him; by over-ruling his wisest *Resolutions* and *Methods* in managing the *Expedition* into *Dauphine* for his *Advantage*; that *Confederates* cannot obstruct an *Accommodation* between him and *France*, neither can they propose to themselves or him to be in a better condition to assist him, having lost their only *Opportunity*, and being less able to stand upon their own *Defence* for the future, much less to protect him.

To return: As to the *Confederates* that are more contiguous, it being a Point of somewhat less Importance, though I first proposed it, yet shall take leave to speak to it now. I said in reference to them, that they could not so easily enter upon a *Treaty* of a *separate Peace*, without being liable to the *Insults* of their neighbouring *Allies*: This is true; but then we ought to consider what may be done in such a Case, and that honestly and justly; if a *Confederate Prince* finds himself exposed to the common *Enemy*, by the *Negligence* or *Pertidiousness* of the rest, (*Confederacies* generally importing mutual *Defence* and *Protection*), in such a Case common *Reason* and *Equity* will dictate that he is at liberty to make the best *Provision* he can for himself; and if upon reiterated *Applications* and *Entreaties* he finds no *Relief*, his *Interest* will compel him

to make the best Terms he can with his Enemy. So that all that can be pretended from the *Articles* of the *Confederacy* providing that no one of them shall make a separate Peace, can be of no Obligation to any one of the *Allies* to expose himself to certain and miserable Destruction against the Dictates of Reason and Self-preservation, nor can any of the *Confederates* be supposed so devoid of all sense of Justice to themselves. All this being, as I humbly conceive, undeniable, we are in the next place to consider what is proper to be done in such instances in order to prevent their being treated by their Fellows as common Enemies, and then make a particular Application of it to those of them who seem to be under such Circumstances as render it altogether necessary, and their onely Interest to act accordingly. In these Cases the most secure Method is to join with their Enemy, or at least to endeavour to maintain themselves in a Neutrality; by which means they'll easily secure themselves, and perhaps reap such Advantages by a timely Conjunction with the prevailing side, as may in a great measure compensate their former Losses both from their new *Allie*, and their *old ones* too, in the concluding a Peace: by the former they'll be in a condition to make Reprisals on their perfidious self-interested *Confederates*, who compelled them, or wheedled them into the War to their great Detriment; or at least be enabled with their new *Allie* to drive them to the necessity of making a Peace, from which they may exceedingly profit themselves: By the latter maintain themselves in present Security, and gain by both; which is far more eligible than to be devoured by their *Friends* and Enemy too. This is all I can imagine at present advisable in this point; and this seems to be the present Case of some of the *Allies*, in particular the Bp. of *Liege*, the Elector Palatine, the Administrator of *Wirtenbergh*, the Electors of *Treves* and *Cologne*, and the K. of *Spain* himself. What Devastations have been in those parts, and what Acquisitions the French have made, is too notorious to be recited here. How meanly the *Confederates* have acquitted themselves in defending those Countries, is so well known, particularly in relieving *Mons* and *Namur*, when besieged; in preventing Excursions into the Territories of *Liege*, the *Palatinate*, the Dutchy of *Wirtenbergh*, *Juliers*, &c. is a Shame, and grand Reflexion upon them to recount. And what Motives should induce these respective Princes to go on with the War is the greatest riddle in the World. We have not one single Instance of the *Unity* of their Councils yet in making one generous Attempt on this side, in attacking or relieving any place of Moment for these three years; so that hitherto they have done nothing answerable to the *Designs* they have given out, and *common Expectation*; and there are but small hopes, as has been hinted already, that they will ever be more *unanimous* or *capable*. So that if these last mentioned *Allies* should yet be inclinable to proceed with the War, it seems to be against all appearance of Reason

son, and what Prudence and Foresight cannot persuade them to submit to, Time and Necessity will compell them, to their greater Dishonour as well as Disappointment.

Thus I have endeavoured to prove my first Assertion, That the Revolution in *England* was the Contrivance of the *Confederacy* in general, and not the P. of O's separately from the rest of the *Allies*, or effected by his sole Interest, and insisted upon those singular Advantages they proposed to themselves by it. But hitherto, I confess they have not obtained any but the first; they have indeed drained our Wealth, and occasioned our Blood to be spilt most profusely; but as to their Acquisitions upon *France*, or regaining their former Losses, not a tittle is to be bragg'd of, they having not been able hitherto to defend themselves: All *Savoy* gone, *Piedmont* in danger, *Mons* and *Namur*, with most of their Dependencies, in the Hands of the *French*, and the rest of *Flanders* in a tottering Condition; the *Palatinate*, Territories of *Liege*, and the Dutchy of *Wertenberg* most miserably harassed and impoverished: In a word, the State of the *Confederacy* so feeble in all parts, that although they had exerted their utmost this last Campaign, and given out strange Reports of grand Attacks to be made upon *France*, nay in the sensible part too, they have been able to doe just nothing. So that instead of carrying on a vigorous War against *France*, and humbling her, they have stood merely upon the Defensive, which is only to suffer and endure the Evils of War, Waging War implying assaulting, attacking, or offending; but nothing of this hitherto, unless lately in *Dauphine*, which has been sensibly retaliated in *Germany*, *Liege*, and the *Palatinate*, and without all peradventure in *Piedmont*, unless prevented by a sudden Compliance.

But what shall we say to poor *England*? What Advantages will she get by engaging her self into the *Confederacy*, and by the late Revolution? Why truly I believe it would puzzle Men and Angels too to name one at present; but since we are taught to call things by false names, I shall mention that presumed and most celebrated one, *The Happiness of having a Prince of the greatest Reputation in the whole World for Justice, Religion, Valour, Conduct, and an indefatigable Studiousness in promoting the Good of his natural-born Subjects.* This is an Advantage indeed, and no doubt worth the purchasing at the dearest Rate. These are great Characters, I confess, and would be extremely charming, if as true as easily said! If his Invading his Father's Throne was rather owing to the Contrivance of the *Confederacy*, than the Pretences he made in his Declaration; then it's manifest to all Mankind, that he acted such a Master-piece of Injustice as can scarce be parallel'd, and beyond all Apology: To name some; he charged his Father and Mother with imposing a supposititious Heir upon the three Kingdoms, which himself never made the least doubt or scruple of, before he published his Declaration, and he had invaded the King-

dem, upon whose Birth he congratulated the King and Queen, and caused him to be prayed for by name in his own Chapel at the *Hague*, till a little before his Expedition hither; and although in the aforesaid *Declaration* he promised the Nation he would refer the Enquiry into the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and all things relating to it, and to the Right of *Succession*; yet it's notoriously known, the Parliament never so much as went about it, nor himself ever moved it to them; neither could the reiterated Petitions and Desires of a great many Persons of Quality ever procure any such Favour from them or him, to the great Dissatisfaction of no inconsiderable part of this Kingdom. Besides, let any one compare his *Declaration* with the *Original Contract* with him, or *Instrument of Government* since, and I challenge all the World to produce such an Instance of Injustice, and Violation of Promises, as this pretended *Saint*, and *Mirror* of Justice has afforded us. And though three preceding Kings have been blackened by a set of Villains and Profligates, that are a scandal to all the rest of Mankind, as *Neroes*, *Julians*, and Imps of Hell, to set off their dull, gloomy *Hero*; yet we may with truth defie them to produce such Instances of *Arbitrariness*, and *Violation of Property*, since *Henry* the VIII. as his four Years Tyranny have produced. It may be said, I own, he is a severe Punisher of *Thieves* and *Clippers*; but then if we do but reflect what a necessity he has reduced some thousands of People unto for want of Trade, and the ill Example he has given himself, by invading three Crowns, and sending the Wealth out of the Nation never to return again, and notwithstanding cried up by the *Theologo-Politicoes* for a *Saint*, a *Saviour*, a *Deliverer*, &c. he has contributed exceedingly towards the taking off the edge of all religious Restraint, and the searing Mens Consciences, and confirming them in Wickedness; so that nothing but the Terror of civil Punishment remains to put a stop to all manner of Injustice: And since it's undoubted that by the severe Infliction of Punishment in such Cases he chiefly aims at his own Interest, as *Usurpers* and *Tyrants* seldom doe otherwise, I am affraid, notwithstanding such pretended *Justice*, he will hardly avoid the imputation of being guilty of their Blood, as well as in a great measure accessory to their Crime. And I believe it will not be forgotten in haste, how one poor Fellow laid his Death to his Charge at the very Gallows, as being the sad occasion of it; and prayed for his true Master, intimating, that if he had not been driven away, in all probability he had never come to that dismal end. Again, let us call to mind the many Sham Plots that have been forged by his Mirmidons, to keep up the Rankour and Malice of the People against their King and his Friends, the illegal fining of Persons beyond their known Abilities, contrary to the *Instrument of Government* he subscribed as the Condition of his having the Crown, for meer Trifles, as drinking *K. James's* Health, or praying for him; in murdering that

worthy

worthy Gentleman and excellent Christian, Mr. *Aston*, the poor Chairman, and Mr. *Cross*; in suborning and protecting from Justice those bloody Rascals, *Blackhead*, *Young*, and *Fuller*, Fellows that were elected out of all the Gaols in Town by one *Pearson*, and at his Expence no doubt discharged of their Debts, &c. and afterwards allowed Salaries on purpose to swear all that he hates or fears out of their Lives, when he thinks it expedient; the frequent illegal Imprisonments of Persons of the greatest Quality, as well as others, and by all that does appear to the contrary, himself alone being the *Evidence*, *Accuser*, and *Judge*; his shamefully detaining the Soldiers and Seamen's Pay, by misapplying it, contrary to the very Acts of Parliament that granted it; his vast Debts to the Transport Ships ever since the beginning of the Revolution; the frequent Embargoes; the refusal of Convoys to secure the publick Trade of the Nation, notwithstanding the Custom and vast Taxes granted upon that, as well as any other Account; the ordering the publick Monies to contrary uses in general than originally design'd, against the frequent Promises in his Speeches to both Houses of Parliament: These are such notorious Violations of *Justice*, that we may with as much Truth give him the Reputation of the handsomest Man in the World, as the Character of *just*.

Then again for his *Religion*: According to the Rules of Method I should have mentioned it first; but it's no great matter whether it be considered first or last, or indeed at all. What mortal *Wight* can tell what *Religion* he is of; or rather, Is it not a contradiction to say he has any? It's impossible he should be of the Communion of the true Church of *England*, which he found established by Law, because he persecutes those with the utmost Violence he can, whose *Defence* he made one of the most specious *Pretences* in his Declaration. *Decl. Parag. 13.* and so readily consented to the rooting out *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, settled by several Acts of *Convocation* and *Parliament*; and though he with his usual Arts of Dissimulation seemed to be very squeamish, when he came to that Clause of the *Scotch Coronation Oath*, *We shall be careful to root out Hereticks*, by declaring he did not mean by those Words that he was under any Obligation to become a *Persecuter*, yet never made any scruple to set on foot and encourage one of the most violent Persecutions we ever read of against the *Episcopal Clergy* there. Neither can we indeed with any certainty determine to what side he is really most inclined, whether the *Presbyterian* or *Episcoparian*, he constantly varying his Favours to either, according to the Emergencies of his present Interests in *Scotland* itself. Sometimes he would seem to have good Inclinations towards the *Episcopal Party*, when he has any just reason either to fear them or caress them; for we are all sensible enough that the main Body of the Nobility and Gentry, and the better sort even of the Commonalty of that Kingdom, are most addicted

to them, and though in the hurry and Confusion of Affairs there in the beginning of the Revolution, to gain the *Presbyterians*, and other *Sectaries*, he underhand encouraged them to fall upon the Bishops and regular Clergy in a tumultuous manner, which was the most blessed juncture they could wish to vent their innate Malice, and over boiling Zeal, against a Party they hated, if possibly, more than the Devil himself, that he might have an opportunity to make good his Engagements to those their Agitators, who had been for some years plotting and juggling with him in *Holland*, to bring about this *Great Deliverance*; yet finding at length the impossibility of maintaining his Interest there upon that foot, he has several times endeavoured by his Letters, &c. to procure an Accommodation between them, by settling some of the Episcopal Clergy in Livings, &c. resolving, no doubt, as soon as he can conveniently, to determine himself for that Party which he can most safely rely upon. Neither has his Management here in *England* been much different; he found the greatest part of the Nation addicted to the Principles of the Church of *England*, as established by Law, and some of their Principles and Doctrines opposite in the highest degree to his Designs; therefore like a true *Machiavelist*, he found it absolutely necessary to bring those Principles into Disreputation, and extirpate them, if possible, right or wrong; and to this purpose set up the noted *Latitudinarian Gang*, by the easie Allurement of his Favour, and the assurance of the best Preferments, to decoy the rest of their Brethren into a ready Compliance with him, who immediately in their Preachings and Writings confessed and owned their former Errors to the People, and in a short time readred their so much celebrated *Passive Obedience* and *Nonresistance* the most ridiculous Doctrine and dangerous Error in the World, gave us new Comments on *Rom. 13.* telling us that higher Powers must be obeyed, without any regard to *lawfull* or *unlawfull*; that *Allegiance* and *Submission* were all one; that in some Cases it is lawful to violate the Commandments of God; that *Religion* and the *publick Good* knew no Relations; that it is lawful to swear with Reservation, or to take publick Oaths in private senses; that an Oath to the present Government did not interfere with the former to *R. James*, &c. Nay, any Pretences in the beginning were allowed and admitted of, provided they could but hook them into the Interest of the Government, and bring them off in some measure from their former Principles; so firmly had it been resolved by this Gentleman, and his *Cabinet*, to ruin the old Church of *England*, and let loose her Discipline, and by all imaginable Arts and Devices to render her odious and contemptible. Neither has this wicked and atheistical Project wanted its Success; in a moment of time her Face was so altered, and scarce to be known again, her Priesthood perjured and turn'd schismatical, and like Renegades, their new Zeal and Malice boild up to that degree, that the Liturgy

must

must be alter'd, her ancient Creeds expung'd, her Ceremonies left at liberty, or laid aside, and a *Comprehension* established for bringing all their *Reverend Brethren*, the *Gifted Cobblers, Tinkers, Taylors, &c.* with the Foreign Reformed *Schismatics* into Church-Preferments; all the *Fences and Hedges* must be pull'd down in order to unite these Brethren in Iniquity against the common Enemy, tho' indeed the only design was to extirpate and run down those Principles, which whenever it pleases God Almighty to pull off the Scales of the Eyes of the honest and well meaning tho' deluded People of this Nation would set his Worship a packing, notwithstanding that Security which he has promised himself from those horrid Perjuries he has been the occasion of, and which themselves in all their common Discourses own to have so little Obligation, and shamefully call *Garrison Oaths*. Thus having, as far as possible he could, dissolved the True Old Church of *England*, and erected a new One upon a mere civil Basis, such as this, of Rebellion, Perjury and Usurpation, and rendered it impossible to retrieve the Discipline of the Church, and her Sacred Offices during his Government here; the next thing he endeavours is to profit himself of all Parties in Religion (notwithstanding his popular Pretence of uniting them all against the common Enemy, viz. Popery,) to this purpose he studies privately to dash them one against the other, by reviving old Stories under the former Reigns, and to keep up some necessary Feuds amongst them, for fear of a good Understanding, and Union, perhaps in time to throw him out of the Saddle, when once they perceive their true Interest; and therefore never omits to caress them, as his only Friends he can rely upon when he has a prospect of making a particular Advantage upon them, as in the management of the Election of Mayors, Sheriffs, and Aldermen in the City of *London*, (and in the Elections of Burgesses for *Parliament* all over the Nation) is too notorious to be insisted upon, in order to oblige them to lend or grant Money, &c. When one Party begins to grow cold and indifferent, by Disappointments, &c. then he underhand applies himself to another, and by stirring up Animosities and Quarrels among them, casts Mists before their Eyes, that being intent upon their private Revenge, and little Plots and Contrivances one against another, they may take the less cognizance of the more publick Concerns, and be the more eager and emulous of serving him, in hopes of drawing him in to favour and assist their Party. Thus he plays Tricks, and juggles with Religion, and that is the most Orthodox which conduces most to the establishing himself in the Government, and is always ready to vary his Religion with his *Fortune*, let it be what it will; and I dare engage *Arch John*, and the rest of the *Johns* shall readily concur with him at any time to set up what Religion he pleases, provided it will sute their Turn, as well as his. But I shall have occasion to speak more to this Point afterwards, and therefore shall proceed

ceed to enquire, whether *Valour* ought to be admitted as an Ingredient of his Reputation.

And as to this Quality, which I must grant never wants its Charms to get into the Affection of the Noblest as well as Popular and Meanest Minds; I would fain know what Right he can put in for it? or what gallant Proofs he has given of Personal Bravery, especially since his being amongst us? The Victory at the *Boyne* indeed has made a great Noise among his deluded bigotted Mob. But its well known he never ran the least risk in it, or pass'd the River (which was the greatest danger) till most of the Army were over, nor ever was within reach of, much less gently kiss'd with a Cannon-Ball, or received the least hurt there, whatever his Parasitical *Misti*, and the pretended Thanksgiving Prayer roar'd out among the Mob by his Atheistical Priests, a clear Evidence of his and their Religion to dare to affront Heaven so profanely, merely to delude the poor Innocent Sheep, as if they believed there was no God to take Vengeance of such open Blasphemies, as well as of the rest of their Impieties. Just such a silly Story we had of his Deliverance last Year, when he lay encamp'd near *Beaumont*, of a Bullet that fell in the very place where he stood under an Oak the very instant after he went from it, tho' I have been inform'd it was several Hours after, which was cryed up too for a Signal Deliverance. And as to the Engagement at *Steinkirk*, tho' all the *Dutch Courants* are full of Encomiums of his Bravery in leading up of Battalion after Battalion, and of Thanksgivings, and many Godly Ejaculations for his wonderful Deliverance, we never for all that could be assur'd he was in the Action at all, or in the least Danger; and some who had reason enough to know, positively assert he was not. So that these are all nonsensical silly Stories, made on purpose to keep up the Hearts of the King-making Rabble, and to instil into their credulous Minds, that easily digest every Report that makes for their Side, without considering the Truth or Probability of what they hear, and to preserve the Reputation of their Idol's being the Darling of Heaven; and two or three such whisking Romances is all the return for four Millions per *Annum*, and all we must look for.

As little as we have to alledg for his Personal *Valour*, and Bravery, yet I am sure much less can be produc'd for his pretended Masterpeice Conduct, which we are all told strikes such Terrour on all occasions into the *French King*. Pray what Instances have we of it? As to the Business at the *Boyne*, the grand Divertisement for the *Bartholomew Mob*, and not worthy to be taken notice of any way else, all sensible People are convinc'd that advantage was got by mere Treachery, by the *Germans* laying down their Arms, and absolutely refusing to fight, consequently betraying their Posts, and that *Arch-Traytor Hamilton* his, the Treachery of both giving such reason of Distrust to the poor Irish, that they turning Tail, the General Officers

Officers with much ado persuaded the King to consent to a Retreat, and leave the Field to his usurping Son-in-law, though with such Order, that the great Hero, with his crew of Rebels, could not do any considerable Damage upon them, or have the Honour of a pursuit to any effect; and besides, as his own Officers are not afraid to own, after Schomberg's death, a sensible want of Conduct attended all his Enterprises all the remaining Campaign. Was ever any thing more weakly undertaken than the Siege of Limerick, more foolishly and inexpertly attackt? Or did ever any Army under such an incomparable General come off so basely? What warlike Policy to undertake such a piece of Work without heavy Canon and Ammunition, &c. and to commit them to the care of so slender a Guard? To lose about 8000 Men to no purpose, and at last through a pannick fear to run away *incognito* from his Army, and steal over in a *Mescal-boar*? He who never saw Siege in his Life might have managed it in all points to better purpose; and yet, to our mortal Grief, all this owing to the sage Management and Bravery of our *Hogan Mogan William*. But the next Campaign must make Amends for former oversights: The P. of O. was to be early at the *Hague*, to consult in all haste of the most effectual means to humble the Pride of France, and while a parcel of grave, dull Germans and Dutch were sucking their Whiskers, and stuffing their Paunches, the grand Hector of France had the confidence to sit down before Mons. The noise of this bold Attempt reaching the Ears of the Butterboxes, and the Profound *thinking Noddle* of the *Britannick Hero*, away he goes to *Hall*, and before he could bethink himself what to doe, or get out of his Amusement, the Town was surrendred; which so confounded his Intellectuals, and stunn'd his considering Pate, that he never could come to any Resolution what to doe the whole Campaign after; but march'd and countermarch'd from place to Place, *advancing, retiring, and running away*, till he had spent all his Money and Provisions, and cunningly took his leave of the Army as soon as he perceived *Luxemburgh* had pounded 'em up near *Leuse*, and was ready to give them a Parting Blow, nois'd it about immediately after, that this Miscarriage was owing to the Misconduct of the Generals in his absence, the cowardly French taking the Advantage of it, and so returned to his Parliament, and told them, *That truly the French King was very powerfull*. And yet we may remember that in the beginning of that Summer it was runour'd about that Mons was to be retaken, *Dinant* or *Philipville* beliged, the French Army to be beaten, the Confederates having got together a much more powerfull Army than the Enemy, who was reported all along that Campaign to be hard put to it for want of Money, Forrage, Provisions, and the Lord knows what; but then, as Mischiefe would have it, they always had the luck to be so strongly intrencht, (which our unthinking Slaves were made to believe was out of fear to be attackt by his *Britannick Majesty*

jesty, asy the call him, and his Bear-skins,) that the *Confederates* could not come at them; as if that could be a Disgrace to the *French*, which was ever the Glory of the greatest Generals, to encamp themselves so as not to be compelled to fight without a great Advantage, especially when inferior in Forces, and merely defensive, which is well known was *Luxemburgh's* Case all along the two last Summer Campaigns; and yet in the former of these, though much inferior in number, he made a shift to fall upon their Rear, and put them to the rout, killing a considerable number, and taking divers Prisoners, and to conclude the Campaign gloriously; and this last, by a sudden March to take Possession of the very Ground, where there was plenty of Forage that was untoucht, which our brave *Generalissimo* designed for his Army, who wanted it exceedingly, entrencht himself; and in regard it could not be well avoided but our *Protestant Knight Errant* must either pass that way, or march round about, (which would have proved a horrid Disgrace to him,) by this means forced him to attack him with his own Men, his Allies positively refusing to second him, and looking on the whole time; himself in the mean time being sensible of the great danger, and very prudently keeping out of harms way: So that this attacking of the Enemy was merely the Effect of an absolute necessity of his doing something, though to no purpose, and the Conduct and Foresight of the *Crook-backe General*, as this *Thirsites* call'd him, and his own Folly besides in making an unaccountable (and ought to be an unpardonable) Experiment too, in sacrificing the Lives of so many thousands of *English, Scotch, and Dames*, to make an empty flash, and to keep up the undue Opinion of his Valour among the abused *Mob*; for in one word all the Politicks he is guilty of lies in carelling them; and so little sense he has, that so long as he can keep them on his side, he concludes all is safe and well. Here is conduct with a Vengeance, and puts me in mind of a short passage in an excellent Author, who comparing *Alexander the Great* and *Cæsar* together, writes thus: *The Prudence of a General has two parts; the first respects the Conservation of his own Forces, and the other the Destruction of his Enemies.* Alexander was defective in the former, because he frequently led his Army into places where they sometimes dyed of Hunger, or Thirst, or by Stones, (as in some narrow Passages, with Mountains on each side,) where he was forced to engage his Enemies at all Disadvantages of Ground, &c. and consequently brought his Men oftentimes merely to be butchered: Wherefore that Speech of the grand Scipio will ever be applauded, That he had rather save one Citizen, than slay a thousand of his Enemies. Again, Alexander was wanting in the second; for whereas two things are necessary to the Destruction of an Enemy, Force and Conduct, he ordinarily depended upon, and succeeded by the former; which cannot be said of *Cæsar*; forasmuch as he took as much care of his Men, as a Father of his Family, nor ever went upon any Enterprize without great Stores of

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*Provisions and all Necessaries; if he had not Corn enough he made it up with Flesh, and having an advantage over his Enemy, chose rather to defeat him by Policy than the Sword: and in all occasions endeavoured to add Industry to his Force. This is but one part of the Comparison of these two Great Men, and since our Boobies will be thought to have made a wise Choice of their King, as they call him, and he must be a great Champion, let him be drest up with all the Imperfections of *Alexander*, with whom they are pleased so often to compare him; for I am sure nothing really honourable and commendable in that Great Man can ever sute their puny *Hector*; and then for a Conclusion, let them but be so just withal, as to apply the Character of *Cesar* to his Adversary, and judg what they may expect for the future from either.*

Another famous Instance of his Military Policy is the tender Care he takes in making Provision for, and paying his Soldiers by Sea and Land. It's not unknown to us all what numbers of Seamen died of strange and unaccountable Diseases the first Summer after this *Revolution*, through his notable Frugality in furnishing the Navy for the most part with old and decayed Stores, and that abominable Lie that was spread abroad in excuse of it, that their Meat and Salt were poisoned with Nutgalls; whereas all Physicians will grant, if a quantity of them was really mixt with them they could not produce such Effects, but would rather have proved an excellent Medicine to have prevented, or cured the Bloody or any other Fluxes, which were very frequent among them, being a great *Astringent*. But not to insist upon this senseless Story, these old Stores however decayed were thought a good expedient to save Money to hire Foreigners and many other necessary uses. What Care did he take to send over Provisions for the Army in *Ireland*, whereof at least ten Thousand perished through want of all manner of Necessaries, and were ready to leap at what our very Dogs would refuse, while the *Dutch* and other Foreigners, wanted nothing, but were fat, and well liking? And because this Prince must be call'd and own'd as *Generalissimo* of the Confederate Forces in *Flanders*, and all Advantages against the Enemy there ascribed to his Conduct, so it is not unreasonable to lay all the Miscarriages there to his Charge, as Evidences of his sinister Conduct. Whence proceeded that great scarcity nay absolute want of all sorts of Provisions, even of *Tents* and *Straw*, in the beginning of the Campaign, which occasioned a great deal of Sickness, and the Death of many Men and Horses, but from his Negligence, or want of Money to provide them, which is as inexcusable as the other; since that General who will go upon any Enterprize without all things necessary, has been ever condemn'd as rash, and void of all Military Prudence? What a Reflection is it upon the Politicks of this *Mighty Warrior* to be unprovided in the beginning of that *Annus Mirabilis*, which rais'd the expectations of all *Christendom*, and was to

decide the Fate of all *Europe*, when he had engaged himself to be early in the Field, and seem'd resolute to oppose the French in all they could pretend to; and yet tamely to stand staring at the Head of 100000 Men, without making the least Attempt to raise the Siege of *Namur*, the most important Town in all *Flanders*, or to give the least Diversion; and to serve only for an Evidence of one of the bravest Actions that ever was perform'd by any Prince, and that indelible Dishonour and Loss to him and his Allies, which they in all likelihood can never retrieve. Now, I say, the P. of O. committing so great an Oversight in not making timely and competent Provisions for his Army in such a difficult time of the Year, his Army must be more than ordinarily fatigu'd, dispirited, and unfit for Action, and never ready on the sudden to act offensively or defensively; and one thing which argues this was not a single Error, but a perpetual Miscarriage on the Confederates side all this War, is, That whereas the Foreign Prints have constantly given us an Account of the early and indefatigable Preparations of the French all this War, they seldom afford us the like Instances in the Confederates: let the true Reason lie where it will, its an Argument of a double Weakness, and that their Success, whenever they have any, is an effect of Chance, and not of their Politicks and Diligence. For want of timely and suitable Preparations for an Enterprize, its odds but it must miscarry, especially when it cannot be relieved by Prudence or Stratagem; and how sagacious he is at a dead Lift let the World bear him witness, unless it be in throwing his Miscarriages upon others, without any regard to *Truth* and *Honour*. We have not found yet that he has been early enough out either by Sea or Land, but onely by a *meer Accident* at Sea this last Year, the crossness of the Winds favouring, which is an Advantage he cannot always promise himself; and had it not been for that, in all Humane Probability, he would have for ever lost all opportunity of playing the Fool again.

But this is not the onely Defect remarkable in the P. of O. as to *Military Prudence*, (or Providence,) but his *Pay* has been all along bad. Money is called the *Nerves*, and the *Belly* of War; the Nerves because it gives Motion to, and maintains Armies in their Motion; (hence *Thucydides* observes, that few of the *Grecians* in respect of the extent of their Territories went to the Wars against *Troy*, and could never keep themselves long together, through want of Money; and that the People of the *Morea* made short Campaigns upon that account. Its generally for Money and Subsistence that Men list themselves into the Wars, and when once that fails, they sensibly grow weary and dead hearted;) and its properly call'd the *Belly* of War, because like as the Belly distributes Nourishment to all parts of the Animal, so does Money to an Army. How far this P. has discharged himself in this Point, no Body is ignorant from the highest to the lowest amongst us. The present Arrears to the Army in *Ireland* is an Instance

Instance of Injustice without Parallel. Men that had ventured their Lives, and indured all the Hardships possible for Humane Nature to sustain, in hopes at least of good Pay, if not sharing the Countrey for their Service, having never received any other than a little Subsistence Money, and forced thereby to commit all the Villanies in the World, by Plundering and Murdering, to the Destruction of near a third part of the People, and three parts in four of the natural Riches and Product of the Countrey; and at last told by their Officers they must never expect their *Arrears*, but exact Pay for the time to come, and then immediately to be transported to *Flanders* to be made *Forlorns*, is such a Monument of Inhumanity as we can scarce find in History, though at the same time a just Reward from God for their *Rebellion* against their *Lawful King*, who ever tender'd them as his Children, there being not one part of four alive of all those Villains who had so basely deserted him, and betrayed him. This Matter of Fact about the *Arrears*, if occasion should require, will be readily acknowledged by some hundreds of Officers, particularly by *Colonel Bierly*, whose Case being singular, I shall beg leave to insert it, which in short is this; The Colonel was a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, and formerly very zealous for the P. of O's Interest, and *Colonel* of a Regiment of Horse from first to last, and hath expended between 5 and 6000*l.* of his Estate in his Service, and there being an Arrear of above 4000*l.* due to him; for several Months he solicited diligently for it, but without Success: in conclusion, he told the *Lords* of the *Treasury* that his private Affairs obliged him to go into the Countrey to settle them, having been so long absent, therefore desired that he might know whether he might expect an Order for his *Arrears* or not, and he would stay a Week longer to adjust that Business. The *Lords Commissioners* told him that he might go into the Countrey when he pleased, for he was to expect nothing from them, for they had no *Orders* to pay any *Arrears*: So he's gone into the Countrey, where he spares no occasions to set forth the *Injustice* and *Ingratitude* of him, who was never guilty of doing a just or honourable Action in his whole Life. What a Scandal and burning Shame is it, that the poor Seamen (whereof a great many have two or three Years *Arrears* due to them, and all the rest proportionably, having been exposed to all Dangers, kept out at Sea, and on Shipboard, longer than ever was known, and been instrumental of that *Grand Deliverance* he had only to brag of in his *Speech*) should be defrauded of their Pay; nay, not having so much as Subsistence Money; and yet tied up to the Service by severe and repeated Proclamations, without and against all former Precedents, oblig'd to be at Sea most part of this Winter, and utterly forbidden their ancient Priviledg of making a short Voyage or two to get Bread for their poor Wives and Families, who having Bankrupt their former Credit with Shopkeepers, Bakers, &c. are forc'd to beg and starve! This is such a Hard-

ship as they and their Fore-fathers never knew before, and such a Yoke as none but a *Dutch Bore* could ever have fixed upon English Necks. The Cowardly, and justly to be abominated *Dutch* by all of our Nation, after the Defeat at Sea two Years agoe, were taken into our Hospitals before any of our Countreymen were put in, tenderly provided for, and had a Gratuity given by the *Princess of Orange* for their Encouragement, were entertained, and got Money from all sorts of People; and besides all this, This *Gracious Governess* promised to refit all their disabled Ships at the publick Charge, to have Pensions for the Widows of the Men that were lost in the Fight, &c. as may be seen in the *London Gazette* of July 21. 90, in the Article from the *Hague*, July 25. On the 22d Mr. Harbord arrived here from England, and the same Evening had Audience of the *States General*, — to whom he represented, that he was commanded by the *Queen* to let them know how much her Majesty was concerned at the Misfortune that had befall'n their Squadron, in the late Engagement, and that their not being seconded as they ought to have been; which Matter her Majesty had directed to be examined into, in order to recompence those that had done their Duty, and to punish such as should be found to have deserv'd it. That her Majesty had given Orders for the refitting the *Dutch Ships* that were disabled, at her own Charge, and had commanded that all possible care should be taken of the sick and wounded Seamen, and that Rewards should be given to the Widows of those that were killed, behaving themselves bravely in the Fight, to encourage those that do well for the future. Here is a strange Partiality and Tenderness for the *Dutch*, Rewards for their Widows, Encouragement promised to those of them that shall do well for the future, besides particular Care of their sick and wounded in our Hospitals; while our own Men were permitted to perish for want of necessary looking after, and under the unskilful Hands of Country Chyrurgions little better than the Country Farriers. What Instances of such Grace and Compassion to the poor Widows and Orphans of the *English*, which are numberless in *Wapping*, *Chatham*, and many other of our Ports, who never as yet could get the just Arrears due to their Deceased Husbands; and yet which is most barbarous and unjust, the *Dutch* must have Rewards and Encouragements out of our Pay, whilst the *English* are neglected and permitted to starve. This is a Specimen of the Affection our New Governours have for the *English* Nation, and a clear Forerunner of our Slavery, if God Almighty does not timely prevent it, which none but a degenerate and insatuated People to their own Destruction would ever suffer themselves to groan under? But this is not all, the ancient Encouragement of *Smart-Money* to the wounded is most fraudulently detain'd, the maim'd exposed to meer Beggary, for want of their usual Pensions paid to them by the respective Counties they belong to, and are become a publick Nuisance in our Cities and great Towns. What is become of the wounded and maimed in *Ireland* and *Flanders*,

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who, no doubt, were very numerous? God only knows ; the most reasonable Conjecture is, they are either suffered to perish abroad, by being refused Passage Home, or knock'd on the Head to save their Pay, and that they might not come Home and tell Tales of their hard Usage, to the discouraging their *Fellow Slaves* from entring upon the Service. The Story of 50 wounded *English* being burnt in a Barn by the *Dutch*, at the Command of the P. of O. in *Ireland*, upon the absolute refusal of an *English* Officer, who had some remains of Compassion and natural Affection for his own Countrey men, is real matter of Fact, and ought not to be forgotten ; which was done, as is said, meerly to avoid the Trouble and Charge of curing them. These are some of the Hardships the Soldiery groan under, and a Specimen of the *Brutish Temper* as well as *Unpolitickness* of our *Usurper* ; and sooner or later he must expect to reap the just Fruits of his *Cruelty* and *Folly* both. What Glorious Atchievements can he ever pretend to do with Soldiers, who must in due time (if there be so much Mercy reserved in Heaven, have their Eyes open'd, see their Error) and resent such ill Usage and Partiality ? However our dull and unthinking *Bigots* may flatter themselves with great expectations of what he has most sillily given out in his *Speech to both Houses*, of his Resolution to make a Descent, and do Miracles in *France* ; the Soldiery are of the contrary Opinion, and through meer Despair of ever getting their Pay, or effecting any thing upon their Enemy, have deserted considerably, and really entertain low and mean Thoughts of his *Conduct*, see through the Cheat, and are only hindred by the strictness of his Discipline from running unanimously to their Old and Best Master. They own, as many as get over, that they are hated in *Flanders*, abused at all rates by the *Dutch*, exposed upon all accounts as *Forlorns* : They can tell you how divers of their Officers were cashier'd, and Soldiers hang'd immediately after the Battle at *Steinkirk*, for avoiding being knock'd on the Head by the *French*, when a numerous Army stood looking on, and not one single Troop or Company permitted (though some of the *English* desired it, and were ready to hazard their Lives to rescue their poor Countrey-men) to go in to their assistance. By several Letters from Officers in *Flanders* in the *English* Army, we have been informed, how the poor wounded Men, thro' the intolerable Pains they endured, curs'd and dam'd to the Pit of Hell, with their last Breaths, *him* who brought them to that horrid Butchery. They can tell you likewise what great Numbers deserted his Service immediately after the Fight, choosing rather to run the hazard of being hang'd, and losing all their Pay and *Arrears* than to continue in his Service. They can tell you how the *English* are universally hated by the Countrey People there, that they'll scarce let them have Necessaries for their Money, and that the *Flanderkins* have more respect for the Enemy than for their pretended Friends the *Allies*, and much better usage for them.

them. They can tell you that their Wounded and Prisoners, that fell into the Hands of the *French*, were more kindly treated by them than among their Friends; and how far such Usage may work upon the Minds of a People naturally Generous, though at present bereav'd of their Senses, Time may demonstrate. They can tell you how the P. of O. is undervalued and nos'd by the *Confederates* in general, distrusted by the *Dutch*, despised by the Inhabitants in all the Cities and Towns in *Flanders*, and hated by all, and for want of those Qualifications we are made to admire, and so foolishly and superabundantly have hitherto magnified in him. What wonder then is it that our English Seamen and Soldiers mutiny, run away, &c. they can neither get their Pay, nor good Words but at a dead lift; if they modestly demand their own, though incited to it by the keenest Necessity, they are immediately hanged or shot to Death without the least Remorse or Pity! Had we ever such unjust Acts of Parliament made in any Kings Reigns, for enslaving and punishing of Seamen or Landmen, as since this *Revolution*; so many brave Men hang'd or shot to Death for Trifles; such Kidnapping our Landmen, under pretence for Sea Service, and sent the Lord knows whither? Nay, I am credibly informed, it has been no unusual thing to press Landmen, and sell them for 3 l. a Head to the *Dutch*, or into other *Foreign Service*. What Apology can be made for the wicked abuses of the *Mariners*, a parcel of brave young Fellows, who were kept on Board till they were almost all dead of the Small-Pox and other Distempers, the remainder cheated of and denied their Pay, and then forced in a sickly and most pitious Condition to beg from door to door, as *London* and other Places can sufficiently testify? To recount all the Miseries of our distressed Countreymen, who are actually engaged under this Government, would be an endless Task; all I shall add under this Head, is, that this ill Usage looks more like the effect of Malice, and a perfect Hatred, and Distrust, than of any necessity upon our Governours; but if it be, our Condition is deplorable and remediless, by all the Supplies we are able to give, though never so willingly, and without our most just and present Resentments, a certain Forerunner of inevitable Ruine; but if we have but one grain of Sense, or Reflection left, and be not benumb'd all over, an infallible Indication of the Stupidity of the *Generalissimo* of the besotted and dull *Confederates*; and what the effects of such Politicks may be, with relation to himself, I leave to the Judgments of all ingenuous Men to conjecture.

Thus we find his Politicks are by no means adequate to his Designs, or proportionable to those great Undertakings, his Reputation, and the necessity of his Affairs, as well as of these three Kingdoms unhappily under his Management, do absolutely require: and in reference to this last particular, I shall now enquire, whether an indefatigable and sincere studiousness to promote the *publick Good* of these Nations, ought to be admit-

admitted as a just Ingredient of his Character or Reputation: I need not much enlarge upon this Point, the direct contrary being easily deducible from what has been said all along, onely for the assistance of our Memories shall recapitulate. Our Constitution both of *Church* and *State* are renvers'd, and quite disjointed; our *Liberties* and *Properties* most unjustly invaded, and more Instances of *Arbitrary Power* daily committed than in several of the former Reigns. Trade in general decreasing, basely and designedly betrayed, and rendered almost impracticable. A great part of our current Coin either transported in *Specie*, or melted into Ingots, and recoin'd into Dutch *Scellings* in *Holland*, and irrecoverably lost, to our vast impoverishment, and the enriching our sworn Enemies. A Million at least *per Annum*, by the confession of Favourites of the Government, lost ever since this War in Shipping and Merchandize, besides the Produce of it in Trade at Home, to the undoing of Multitudes of Families in a short time; and this loss like to continue as long as we have any thing to lose, or the War lasts. *Ireland* a third part depopulated, and more than half of the intrinsick Riches, or Product of that Kingdom, embezzel'd and wasted; and a third part of our Seamen dead or deserted. The Flower of our *fighting English* destroyed to no purpose. What excuse can be made for the detaining our *Turkey Fleet* above twelve Months, nay after our never to be forgotten Victory at Sea, when we could have well spared half our Fleet for Convoys? the remainder with the *Dutch* being more than sufficient Guards to the *Descent* (a Design so senselessly managed, and shamefully mentioned at this time of day, as the onely thing to buoy us up to sponge 5 or 6 Millions more out of our Purses) and yet by their idling in our Ports and Harbours, and doing nothing but lousing themselves, have suffered more Ships to be lost since than in any one Year since the War. I defy all Mankind to satisfy us in this Affair of so near consequence to the very Being almost of the English Nation: And if the *Descent* be urged as a proper excuse, What has been the occasion of its miscarriage, to the astonishment of all *Europe*? It must either be occasioned through its Impracticableness, or for Want of Necessaries to such an Expedition; but neither of these can apologize for such an unpardonable Frustration, being a certain sign of the *Incapacity* of the Authors and Contrivers of it, neither foreseeing the Difficulties nor Charges necessarily attending such an Enterprize; and thence we may conclude the great Infelicity, and Disadvantages these miserable Nations lie under, to be engaged in a War that our Governours have no skill to manage: and then what can we expect but to be perpetually worsted, and to come off with infinite Loss and Disreputation, and in the end be forc'd to submit. So that unless our Parliament, by their Omnipotence, can supply them with more Brains and better Conduct, and instil into their Sculls more Wit to improve a Victory, when they can get it, it
will

will be equal to us whether we *beat* or be *beaten*, and then how deplorable will our Condition be?

The last Blessing of this Revolution that I shall mention these unfortunate Nations enjoy under the P. of O. (which is a plain Inference from what has been hitherto insisted on) is this, That they shall not, or cannot enjoy their Idolany longer than the Confederacy holds tight with us, or we with them; this is so necessary a deduction that it cannot be evaded, because he is their Creature, set up meerly for their common Interest, and his downfall may become an Advantage to them in time, as well as his Prosperity and Grandeur, (as has been said.) Whatever Figure of *Generalissimo* we may fancy he makes among the *Confederates* in *Flanders*, it's certain he has not the command of any Forces (if really of those) but what he carries over from hence. How often has he been over-rul'd in Councils of War by the *Spanish* Governour *Castinaga*, and *Bavaria* since, Prince *Waldeck*, &c. is so notorious to be recounted here. So that his Business is rather to be their *Providitore-General* than any thing else, to furnish them with Men, Money and Stores, to build them *Forts*, and repay their Losses, (as in that Instance lately produc'd of the *Dutch Squadron* :) Nay, so unwilling are they so much as to find his Soldiers Quarters, that he is forced to transport part of his Quota back again, and to be at the expence of fortifying two Towns, *Dixmuyde* and *Furnes*, to lodg part of the Remainder, send over Provisions, and even Coals for their Subsistence; *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and some other places refusing positively to entertain the rest, if not prevailed upon by the Duke of *Bavaria*. All the Reward he has for the vast Sums he annually pilfers for them out of our almost exhausted Coffers, is to King it here, and all he desires; and upon that account it's his Personal Interest to keep the War on Foot whatsoever it costs us. From whence it's proper enough to infer, that if we be able or willing to furnish as many Millions yearly as the Support of the *Confederacy* will require, we may yet keep the *Dutch Stadtholder* for our King, and if not, we must part with him, and there's an end of the *Raree Show*.

As a Corollary to this last Advantage, we ought not to forget another as remarkable, (for we do every thing awkwardly, and pray and hope, as they say, backwards, and in opposition to all the rest of Mankind that are not insatuated or grown mad,) and that is the Blessing of never enjoying Peace so long as the P. of O. Lords it here. I confess in his Speech the last Sessions of Parliament, and in his Discourse to the *States* before, or after that, he promised he would do his utmost to humble *France*, and procure an Honourable Peace to all *Europe*; but in this as well as in all other Promises he has deceived all our Hopes, and none but half-witted People would ever be so deluded. 'Tis Demonstration he can never do the one or the other now; *France* was never so powerful as at present,
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nay, is grown *excessively Powerful*, as he tells the Parliament in this last Speech; and I may add, the *Confederacy* exceedingly weak, and *England*, that must give Life and Vigour unto all, not excessively rich, nor I hope for ever abandon'd to the highest degree of Sottishness and Insensibility. And as for a Peace, himself is the only Obstacle of it, and will first or last be curs'd by all *Europe* on that account. The *Confederacy* must of necessity have dropt long e're this, if we, through our Zeal and Malice against our Lawful King, whatever we roar against *Louis le Grand*, had not been so prodigal of our Wealth, and Blood, to maintain the abominable *Usurpation* of a *Foreigner*, and through all the Course of his Management a sworn Enemy and Hater of the *English Nation*. And now forsooth, in this last Speech (after all his ill laid Projects and Designs baffled, and frustrated at *Sea* and *Land*, and that he had at the long run discovered, that the *Power* of *France* was *excessive*, i. e. in plain English insuperable, by all the Force and childish Politicks of himself and the *Confederates*,) he very humbly craves the *Advice* of the *Parliament* at a dead List, when all lies at stake, which he never thought worthy of advising with before, and modestly asks *at least an equal Force to that of the last Year*; as if a Force that was able to do nothing the last Year, either by *Sea* or *Land* (but by a meer Accident) would be able to do Wonders the next, against the augmented Forces of his Enemy by *both*. What pitiful Cant is all this? Is it not plain by his *Speech* that he dares not so much as flatter us with the hopes of any Success against *France* the next *Campaign*, since he is fearful even of asking such a Supply as all intelligent Men foresee will be absolutely necessary to oppose the prodigious Preparations of the Enemy? And can we hope with the same *Assistance* we gave him the last Year, which we experimentally found was insufficient even for the *Defensive* part, by *Land* especially, will be superiour to him the next? We are certainly informed of the great Preparations of all sorts of Ammunitions the *French* are making in all their Frontier Garisons upon the *Sambre*, the *Maes*, the *Moselle*, and the *Rhine*, the vast Magazines of Hay, Straw, Oats, and other Grain and Provisions they are erecting in those parts; their Forces so disposed of in Posts upon the *Sambre* and the *Maes*, that 30000 can be got together at any time upon any Enterprize at a short warning; and upon the *Moselle* 20000 on any occasion, and all without doubt to execute some great Designs very early before the *Confederates* can be in a condition to oppose them. And will it be sufficient for the *Confederates* to stand upon the *Defensive*, which they never could do to any effect? And is this the way to *humble France*, to reduce her to her ancient Limits, and to restore Peace and Liberty to *Europe*? And then as for *Savoy*, what Measures are concerted to preserve his Territories from the *French* Reprizals, or even to hinder them from being swallowed up? It's true indeed there are several of the *Emperor's* Troops quartered in *Italy*, besides

those of some of the *German Princes*; but then if we do but remind ourselves of the *Winter Campaign*, which the *French King* has already begun in *Flanders*, and on the *Rhine*; his Resolution (as we are informed by all the *Foreign Gazetts* and *Courants*) to act in concert with the *Turk*, and to push on the War with all imaginable Vigour during this Season, while the other does the same in *Hungary*, (where as we are told the *Ottoman Forces* encrease daily; and by their Motions and Preparations it's generally conjectured they have present and great Designs in Hand, having lately assembled in great Bodies between *Belgrade* and *Semandria*, as (it's thought) to fall into *Sclavonia*, or attack *Peterwaraden*;) in such a Case as this, it's but reasonable to suppose that both the *Emperour* and the foresaid *Princes*, will be necessitated to recall the greatest part of their Forces; and then let the World judge whether 50, 60, or as some accounts say 70000 *French* will not probably prove too great a Match for that *Prince* to encounter, and especially in the Winter time; for these *Prints* do positively tell us, that all the Troops in *Dauphine* and thereabouts, with all the Magazines that have been erecting for several Months since, are actually removed towards the Frontiers of *Piedmont*, and that the French design in the Month of *February*, if the Season favour them, to besiege *Coni*, or *Turin* it self. The *German* and *Spanish* Troops, notwithstanding the most pressing Instances of the D. of *Savoy* to detain them, are marcht into their Quarters; *Bavaria* had recalled two of his Regiments, if he had not been prevailed upon by the P. of O. to let them stay, upon his promise to maintain them this Winter at his own Charge, which by the way is a certain sign of the French Forces encreasing on that Side; and therefore could not be conveniently spared: So that the only present Security he has is the Winter Season, and the deep Snows; and as soon as the Weather breaks, a Force by much superior, and in all Points better provided for, will fall into his Country, and in all probability put a speedy period to the War on that Side, either by an entire Conquest, or by forcing him into a sudden Compliance. We hear of no Preparations answerable to those of *France* on the *Confederates* Side, all being at a stand, waiting for the lucky News of more Money from the Parliament in *England*; and e're that be done, and Preparations made, the Enemy will have done his Business, and have little to doe but to dodge with them, and play with their Noses the whole Summer, and shew the World what Fools they are. Again, what a piece of kindness is it to our Parliament, and an honour too to tell them, the *Inconveniency* of sending out of the Kingdom great Sums of Money for the payment of the Troops abroad, (he dares not say the *English* or *Scotch*;) is very considerable; and so much wishes it could be remedied, that if they can suggest to him any methods for the support of them, which might lessen that Inconvenience, he should be ready to receive them with all his Heart. Why truly the Case is plainly

plainly this, he finds it's no concealing any longer the Transportation of all our Money for the support of Foreigners, and is afraid this Trade will not hold long, either that *England* can pay the *Confederates* unreasonable Pensions, or that the *Confederates* can be held together, notwithstanding the exactest payment of what he is engaged to them; therefore he is willing to go on with them, or knock off as the Parliament will advise him, (provided he mentions these Things *bona fide*, and does not impose upon the rest, and the whole Kingdom besides, by an assurance of a Majority that will carry all right or wrong for his Interest,) any thing so he may continue King, or have the satisfaction at least of ruining the Nation with himself when he must fall. This is downright, (if he be in good earnest) and the Nation has a fit opportunity to look to her self. No means can be found out to avoid *this Inconvenience*, and to maintain an Army abroad at the same time: The only way is to take him at his Word, recall our Forces, break off the *Confederacy*, and to stand upon our own Legs, maintain a good Army here at Home, pay them well, and augment our Navy. But yet this Method has its Difficulties too; so hard a thing it is to ensure any the least degree of *Mundane Felicity*: For should we leave the *Confederacy* in the Lurch, (which his present Circumstances seem to encline, or necessitate him to consent to, if the Parliament think fit,) then the vast Arrears owing to the Allies which they could never expect to get from him, would oblige them to unite with *France*, declare the P. of O. the common Enemy, and *England* the Seat of War. (That he is indebted to the *Confederates* seems highly probable to me, by the Elector of *Brandenburg's* pressing the *States* and the King of *Spain* so hard for the Subsidies, or *Pensions*, due to him the last Spring, representing to them that without them he should not be in a condition to maintain the Forces he had on foot, which the Elector of *Saxony* did likewise the same time; and 'tis not unlikely, that was one principal reason of *Hanover's* slow Proceedings the last Campaign: And if I be not much mistaken in my Conjecture, the P. of O. must come in for a Snack in that Affair, as well as the *States* and *Spain*, especially if he be the *Primum Mobile* of the *Confederacy*, as the Monthly Account and one of the late *Slips* term him.) But to return, the latter would be insignificant, for Reasons formerly mentioned; so that our Case looks desperate. But if we should break up the *Confederacy* by consent, these Arrears must be paid, which no doubt will arise to a large Sum, which would be hard for us to part with in these Circumstances, and to support the Charge of a War besides.

But, Oh the *Descent*! This must be carried on yet. None can desire more than I that a *Descent* should be made into *France*, and therefore notwithstanding the Disappointment of that Design the last Summer, I intend to attempt it the next Year with a much more considerable Force, &c. What a

parcel of Stuff and Contradiction huddled together, as if the Noise of the Cannon from *Mons* and *Namur* was not out of his Head yet ! To talk of a Descent so publickly, so long before-hand, enough to frustrate the best laid Project in the World. If it were impracticable the last Year, much more the next. There are the same Difficulties at least this Year, if not ten times greater; but nothing will serve our Turns, or be worth our Noble Attempts, but Impossibilities. By the next Year there will be a potent Fleet to obstruct us, if not powerful enough to defeat and ruine us; more powerful Diversion by Land; early notice of this Design; all possible means found out to prevent us by Sea and Land; and it may be a Descent to anticipate ours, and what then? Ay, but *I intend to attempt it——with a more considerable Force*. Is not this a palpable Contradiction to his modest Request he had made before, of a Force *at least as great by Sea and Land as we had the last Year?* i. e. If we may be permitted to understand him, he desires, if it can't be otherwise, but the same assistance of Men and Money he had the last Year, and he will attempt it; and if they enable him with a much more *considerable Force* he'll attempt it; if, notwithstanding all the forementioned greater opposition he's like to meet with the next Year than the last, he intends yet to attempt it, though with equal Forces to those he had before; Why was it not attempted then when there were far less? Will he engage to be wiser next Year than the last, or that the *French* shall be more Fools, or that *they* shall be *less able* to oppose him with a *more powerful Navy*, and a greater number of Land Forces the next than they had the last Campaign, and he be stronger and abler to attack them with the same Forces he had before? And suppose he be enabled with a *more considerable Force*, can he assure us that their *Diligence in repairing their Losses at Sea*, and the *considerable Augmentation* of their Land Forces will not exceed his *more numerous Forces*, and render his *good Intention* as impracticable as ever? This is just such a passionate desire as he had to fight *LUXEMBURGH* Hand over Head, without the least shadow of Hope to get any Advantage, but meerly to keep up the Opinion amongst Fools of his being a *Fighting Spark*, and scorning to pass a whole Campaign with doing nothing; so he is resolved to attempt something by Sea, though he is sure to get nothing but hard Blows, and expose some thousands of his *English* to be knock'd on the Head, or to die like Fools to their *immortal Honour*: And this is all he seems to promise in his Speech, to attempt a landing in *France*, which was ever laugh'd at by sensible Men before, and ought to be hiss'd at now.

Well! but here are grand Motives to stir us up to support him with all the Speed imaginable: *We are exposed to the Attempts of France while the French King is in a condition to make them, and therefore the great Advantage we have at this very nick of Time of being joined with the most of the*

the Princes and States of Europe, against so dangerous an Enemy, ought not to be slept, especially our Countrey and Religion lying at stake, &c. and we have the same Religion to defend. &c. What Advantage have we now that we had not before? Are we but just now entered into the Confederacy, or have we or they been asleep or drunk all this while? Why an Advantage now? Are they stronger now, or more politick, or resolute than before? Or if we have had little or no Advantage in being joined with them all this while, what assurance have we of any from henceforward? I am sure some wise Statesmen, who have transmitted to us the Experience of former Ages, do assure us if a Confederacy does not make some notable Impression upon the common Enemy the first or second Campaign, they are never like to do it afterwards, but grow weaker and weaker till they sink into nothing; and as to these Confederates, notwithstanding they have served almost an Apprenticeship under one of the wisest Masters of his Craft in the whole World, have added so little to their Skill, and approved themselves such notorious Dunces, that we have no hopes of ever seeing a Masterpiece from them, to their grand Disparagement, and our infinite Loss. And after all this Pother, are we exposed to the Attempts of France, and is France a dangerous Enemy, and the Power of France excessive? Who may we thank for all this? Was it not the P. of O's being joined with most of the Princes and States of Europe, that brought us into these Snares upon a parcel of sham Pretences, and Bugbear Stories, with his Bearskins and Laplanders, and the Devil knows what? And has not their senseless management of their Affairs against their Common Enemy, as they call him, made him so strong and dangerous as he is? And is there any prospect they will be ever more politick and powerful for the future, and have better Success in all their Enterprizes? Can all the Speed they make in getting Money, providing Necessaries for the War be answerable to his Preparations, which are at this time so forward, as to wait only a proper Season to employ them? And if from the nature of things they must be later, since all the World is convinc'd of the Agility and Diligence of the French, and that they are never guilty of losing Opportunities; do we imagine that all the Confederates can do will signify any thing? Then to what purpose is it to throw away our Money, and to impoverish and weaken our Selves? All the good that our Money is like to doe the Confederates, is only to discharge part of the Contributions they are obliged to pay the French to save their Towns and Villages from being laid in Ashes; such Brave Fellows they are in defending their own Liberties and Properties, that continually sponge the Money out of our Pockets under the Sham of being our Saviours and Deliverers: And so far from humbling their Enemy, and carrying the War into his own Bowels, that what he does not think worth the taking from them, they are forc'd to redeem from being destroyed at any rate, and we like F—— deposite the Money.

Money. Again, how strangely are all our Measures, and those of our Allies, broke in pieces in a trice? Our *Doughty P. of O.* demands but modestly at least as great Force at Land and Sea as the last Year, consequently at least as much Money, &c. and no doubt the *Allies* do what they can on their parts at the same time. Now if we consider the vast Expences and Losses the *Common Enemy* is like to put them to by this *Devilish Winter Campaign*, (being destitute of Magazines, of Provisions for Horse and Man, Ammunition, Carriages, and all Necessaries, as we are well assured by the late Instance of *Charleroy* being bombarded almost to Ashes before they could get up to its Relief, the carrying *Furnes* and *Dixmuyde*, and sixteen or seventeen days playing upon *Rhinfelden* and the *Kat*, before they were in any condition to attempt the Relief of them,) by false Alarms, taking their Towns, and the bare attacking others to give them Diversion, while they are in good earnest in other places, and (which at the same time shews they have not Men enough to secure themselves on all Sides, though the *French* have to beard them, and keep them in play, while they assault them in their tenderest and weakest part) we shall find in the upshot that these at least as great Sums of Money will go near to be half expended before the Summer Campaign begins, (their Designs reaching no farther;) and consequently all their Hopes, if they have any, and Projects of effecting any thing upon *France* crush'd, in the very Shell. I know the saving of *Rhinfeld* is look'd upon as a very great Deliverance, and that *Te Deum* has been sung in *Germany* on that occasion, which is an Argument of its great Importance; but yet at the same time we are not ignorant that it was owing to the badness of the Weather, more than to any thing else; and for all I can see to the contrary, the *Confederates* have no reason to think themselves secure, even as to that point; the *Town* and *Castle*, and the *Kat* are miserably ruin'd, and before they can put them into any defensible condition again, an indifferent good Season may give the *French* an opportunity, if they have no better Fish to fry, to attack it the second time, as undoubtedly they will, and with a stronger Force; and then it must go. How the *Germans* will be able to supply their late Losses in those Parts, the whole Countrey round having been most miserably plundered and harrassed during the Siege, and forced to pay swinging Contributions; the vast Expences in supplying that place with Ammunition and Provisions, to repair the Breaches, add new Works, provide for the Subsistence of their Forces, and those many ruined Families in the Towns burnt by the *French* in their Retreat, I cannot divine: But if we reflect upon the Monies and Monies worth raised by the *French*, in the several Excursions made during that Siege into divers parts, forcing the Country to supply them with whatever they had for their convenience all the time, and what they have extorted from them since; I am morally assured the *Germans* have paid the whole Charge of the *others* Expedition. But to all
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this let us add, that since the taking of that place would have been of vast consequence to the facilitating of the *Designs of France* upon the *Empire*, (as generally was acknowledged and dreaded,) and the early taking of it yet would be so still upon the former supposition, (especially if the *Turk*, taking the Advantage from the *Emperor's* weakness and unpreparedness, make some early and vigorous Attempt in *Hungary* or *Sclavonia*;) the effect will be this, the *French* will be able to penetrate so far into the *Empire*, as to put all *Germany* into a Convulsion, force that *Prince* to draw all his Forces out of *Italy*, (by which the Duke of *Savoy* must fall off, and consequently the War draw on to a period;) and though he should, by the adding those Forces to the Army in *Hungary* or the *Rhine*, make some tolerable defence, yet being unable to do the same on the other Side, he would be compelled to accept of any Terms from the *Turk* and *French King*; and then farewell *England* and *Holland* too; the one must be glad to submit to her old Master, and the other to such Conditions as she can get. This is the Game we are likely to see in a short time, the effect of our *Weakness* as well as *Wickedness*, notwithstanding our profuseness and readiness to support so wretched a Cause to the ruine of these Nations, if God be not the more merciful: Of our *Weakness*, I say, abstracting all other Considerations, because we will not learn *Wisdom* and *Forecast* from our Enemy, in making Provisions against the Winter, when he's always most active; and we may take it for a certain Maxim, grounded upon our Experience all this War, that if we can't prevent the *French* from doing their Business in the Winter time, or very early in the Spring, all our Summer's Expedition ends in nothing but marching and counter-marching, running away or getting a kick on the A—, and so Home again, and tell our Loving Subjects some dreadful Story of the great or excessive Power of *France*, and desire more Money.

Thus we are fool'd and cajol'd from Year to Year with the perpetual Outcries of the growing Power, and excessive Power of *France*, their augmenting their Forces by Sea and Land; put in mind of our being exposed to their Attempts, the danger of our Countrey, Liberties and Properties; and to animate us to open our Purses the wider, and bleed the more freely, he assures us in the Word of a True Protestant Dutchman, he has the same Religion to defend. What pitiful Nonsense is all this? It has been pretended all along this War, that the French King in his Negotiations with the Pope and the Italian Princes and States, to encline them to use their Interest to procure a Peace among the Catholick Princes, or to take part with him, has made it his Business to perswade them, that the War carried on against him so far as the Protestant Princes or States were concerned, was on the score of Religion, which has been denied by the said Protestant Princes, and most of their Writers on this occasion, and particularly by the Author of the General History of Europe, published by the Authority of
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the *States General*, in the P. of O's *Declaration* published by *Schomberg* in *Dauphine*; and in the *Articles of Limerick* we find the P. of O. to the regret of many of our *Protestant Rebels*, has granted greater Liberty and Priviledges to the *Roman Catholicks* in *Ireland*, than ever they enjoyed in the Reigns of any of our *Protestant Kings*. But to come nearer, he uses ambiguous terms, which look very suspiciously, *We have the same Religion to defend*. What same Religion? The new *Latitudinarian Religion*, *Presbyterian*, or the *Oliverian Independent*, or what? Even what you please. We are *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, *Episcoparians* in *England*, *Calvinists* in *Holland*, and (if some intelligent Persons are not mistaken) *Roman Catholicks* in *Flanders*, and after all every where *Atheists*. There are those in the World who fear not to assert, that it was publicly enough reported at *Rome* by divers of the *Cardinals*, and particularly the *Auditor* of the *Rota*, some time before the Revolution, that he was reconcil'd to the Ch. of *Rome*; and some stick not to assert, that he made his *Profest* in the Royal Chapel at *Brussels* before the High Altar, at his Admission into the *Confederacy*, that he would inviolably perform the *Articles* of it, whereof one is this, if we may credit a Copy printed here in *England*, of the *Resolution* of the *Princes, Allies, and Confederates*, which has been taken in the *Assembly at the Hague*, &c. Art. 1. Having resolved to make a Descent into *France*, &c. *We will make no Peace with Lewis XIV. till he has made reparation to the Holy See for whatsoever he has acted against it, and till he has annull'd and made void all those infamous Proceedings against the Holy Father Innocent XI.* If this be really one Article of the *Confederacy*, as there is a grand Suspicion, if we consider the Lukewarmness of that Pope towards King *James*, as was frequently buz'd amongst us formerly, what Figure he made in the *Confederacy*, and his Inveterateness against the French King, the *Bigotry* of the Emperour, and the inflexible Temper of the *Spaniard* as to matters of Religion, it's not to be conceived how they should enter into a Negotiation of this nature with the P. of O. without an assurance of his coming over to their Persuasion, and Resolution of promoting the Rom. Catholick Interest in these Kingdoms. Neither is it reasonable to suppose they would contribute their Assistance to remove a Prince of their own Principles, tho' with a grand Prospect of advancing their civil Interests, to the hazard of impairing their Religion to make way for an heretical Prince. Besides, how can we imagine they would ever communicate such a secret to him, if they were not first sure of him, or could be sure of him without such an Engagement? The sole Refusal or Discovery of it would have infallibly prevented all their Designs, brought an indelible Dishonour and Scandal upon their Religion, as well as their Persons, and provoked K. *James* and the French King to take the utmost Vengeance upon them, and made them justly odious to all the rest of the Christian World, of whatever

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Persuasion: What a Blemish would it have fixed upon the *Emperor*, commonly characterized as a Prince of a most devout Temper, and actually engaged against the Common Enemy of Christianity, to be found in a Design to depose a *Catholick Prince*, and at the same time to cut off all the Hopes of ever propagating the Catholick Religion in three Kingdoms? Neither is his usual Partiality towards *Popish Bishops, Priests*, and the *Roman Catholicks* in general, one of the slightest Arguments for his Suspicion, though it's usually objected, that by his Alliances he was obliged to shew some favour to them. Why was it not as well cautioned he should not set the Mob upon their Houses and Chappels? and why did not those Princes by their Interest with him prevent the issue of so much Bloud, and put a timely stop to those horrid Barbarities, and irreparable ruine of vast Numbers of their own Persuasion then, as to shew such favour and marks of distinction since? No, some Severity was absolutely necessary in the beginning to get the Affections of the People, and to his surer establishment in the Throne; but since he has gained his Point, and dipt all Degrees and Orders of Men so deep in Guilt against their *Lawful Sovereign*, that they fancy themselves beyond all hopes of Pardon, he rides them at his pleasure, makes them believe what he lists, and readily stops their Mouths, and entirely satisfies them with this Excuse. There might be some other very considerable Arguments offered on this Head if necessary or prudent; all that I shall add is this, That for my own part I shall ever believe him to be a *Papist*, as much as any others fancy him either a *Presbyterian*, or of the Communion of the present pretended *Church of England*, till he satisfies the World to the contrary, by taking some severe Test, and most solemn Oath; and if this should prove true, (as it may notwithstanding his communicating publicly according to the Form of the Church of *England*, as many have done formerly to our knowledg before the Test was advised to make the distinction;) How finely are we trumpt upon? However, let him urge this Motive as far as he pleases, it's little to the present purpose; as the Business of Religion has been managed since his *Usurpation*, 'tis no great matter what Religion he or we profess; we have as good as renounc'd our Christianity already, to make and receive him as King; and I am sure nothing can be more contrary to it, or affrontive of the Great God of Heaven and Earth, than our very Prayers and Devotions, wherein we beseech him to support and prosper one of the grandest pieces of Villany that ever was acted upon the Face of the Earth, to confound all Justice and Probity; which is as great an Indignity to an *Holy and Just God*, as *Idolatry* in the highest degree of it. Nay, more than that, all our *Preaching* and *Prayers* tend directly to nothing but the hardening and encouraging Men to persevere in the horrid Sins of *Rebellion* and *Schism*, with their Concomitants, and by consequence in the Eye of Reason give an inlet to all other Vices, it being

as justifiable for a Man to plead a necessity for *Whoring, Theft, Murder, &c.* as to incur the guilt of Perjury and Rebellion for the preservation of Religion; and the consequence is so visible and intelligible by all the *Debauchees* and *Atheists* of the Age, that we to our great Sorrow perceive the visible growth of both dayly; and one *John Tillotson* has contributed more to the Spreading and rooting of *Atheism*, than 50 *Spinoza's*, *Hobbs's* or *Vaninus's*: So that let him insist as long as he pleases upon that old stale Cant of *Religion* to cover all the rest of his profligate Designs, we are certain he has the least reason to name it of any Person in the whole World; one may as soon with his *Arch-Heretic*, and *Schismatick*, *Don John*, find out a place for the *Damn'd* in the *Mansions of Eternal Bliss*, after a certain period of suffering *Hell Torments*, or that the Devils and the Damned sing *Hallelujahs* in Hell, or that they shall at length merit a Release from those dreadful Torments, by their supposed Blasphemies against, or Execrations of God Almighty, as the least spark of Religion in him, if we reflect upon his Practises, (which are ever the Fruits of good or bad Principles;) or as soon demonstrate that the *Emperour*, the *King of Spain*, *Dukes of Bavaria* and *Savoy* entered into the *Confederacy* with him and the rest of the *Protestant Princes*, out of no other Design but to preserve the *Church of England* against the Attempts of *King James* and the *French King*, as prove it ever was the least part of his Intentions. For 'tis visible to any one that knows the difference between *Schism* and the *Unity* of the Church, that he has persecuted ever since he came hither the Members of the True established Church of *England*; and the first effort that he made was to let loose all manner of *Schisms* and *Heresies* upon her to worry her to Death, if possibly, the preservation of which he most impudently makes one of the plausible Pretexts of his *Invasion*; and if the *Latitudinarian Gentlemen* had not out of a great Zeal to preserve their Preferments more than their Religion, swallowed the Oaths against their known *Duty* and *Allegiance*, had put the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* into the actual Possession of all the Churches in the Kingdom, as is constantly urged by them in private as the only Reason of their compliance, and so turned R——, as they say, to keep Rogues out. And here I must not forget to give them their *Due*, they prov'd apt Scholars and out-witted him: Nay more than that, by compelling them to Compliances against all that they formerly taught and professed to believe to be their indispensable Duty, he has been the occasion of such new Lights and Discoveries to them in matters of the nearest Concernment to them, that in effect he has given the sham to the so *Glorious Deliverance* it self, and rendered himself for the future altogether *useless*. How natural is it now for them to urge, and indeed in some of their Writings they have already, that though there might be some pretence in the late dark Age of their Immaturity and Childhood for his Heroick and Generous Undertaking, there can be

none

none now for his *Continuance*, which by his Unsuccessfulness, and the vast Expences he puts the Nation to, without any colour of hope to accomplish the remainder of his Designs, has already dimm'd the Lustre of his first Enterprize, and sunk it almost into Oblivion. 'Tis not Change in Religion, let it be what it will, can affect them now; they've got a *Clue* that will readily extricate them out of all such *Labyrinths*, with the new Arts of *higher and lower Sense*, the Distinction between *Submission* and *Allegiance*, as Circumstances shall determine it: No Oaths can now enslave them and tye them up, and no pretence of Religion impose upon them. Christianity is not the same thing now that she was in her Swadling Cloaths, one thing is to be done in propagating the Faith, another when she has taken firm rooting. The Self-denial and Passivity of the first Ages was really necessary for the propagation of the Faith; but now it's settled it's become an useless Topick, especially since the State has added her Sanction, and stamp'd it into Civil Property; and Christianity as to the *Agenda* requires little more than what the pure light of Nature clear'd up from Passion and Prejudice suggests of her self: *Self-Preservation* is her *prime Law* and Dictate, and all the Religion in the World cannot null it without committing the greatest violence upon Humanity it self. Besides, since Salvation is not confined to any Party or Sect of Christians, but allowances must be made for Humane Frailty, it must be diametrically opposite to the *Great Law of Charity* it self to be strait-lac'd in a point of such deep importance. Therefore let the P. of O. talk what he will as to Religion, Ours is as *Comprehensive* as his, let it be what it will; we want only the much desired Opportunity to reap the Blessings of our happy Change, which if it cannot be obtained under him, we are ready for the next propitious Providence; and let it come from whence it will, *modo hic sit bene*, if we may but continue *Vicars of Bray* still, we'll call it and celebrate it as the *Greatest Deliverance* we ever had yet.

These short Reflections upon some Passages of his Speech, I thought fit to subjoin to my Considerations on the last mentioned Disadvantage these Nations have by this Great Revolution, viz. the unlikelyhood of ever enjoying Peace under the present Government. I might, if it were not to avoid being over tedious, enlarge my self upon a Subject of fatal Importance to these Islands, the *Daily Decay of Trade*; all that I shall say in reference unto it is only this, that it's impossible for us to retrieve it so long as the P. of O. continues here; because we can never hope to be at Peace, or Masters of the Seas so as to secure it; and we must allow a Million and a half at least to be yearly lost during this War, in Shipping and Goods, and all the possible Product or Encrease of it in the way of Commerce, near a third part to be deducted out of the Trade in general, occasioned by excessive Taxes, and scarcity of Money; a considerable part whereof is near lost already for want of *Seamen, Convoys, and*

Ships themselves, by such vast numbers being taken for *Transportation*, the frequent Embargoes, and unhappy detaining of our Fleets, to the loss of their Markets, wasting their Provisions, and raising Commodities to such high Rates, that we had as good be without them; particularly the *Newfoundland* and *Bank Fishery* suspended, if not lost, to the impoverishing of divers of our Port Towns, by reducing numerous Families to downright Beggary, to the excessive Charge of the respective Parishes they belong to. Then again, for our Comfort, let us but consider the Encrease of the *French Shipping*, by their perpetually snapping ours and the *Dutch*, the Encrease of their *Seamen* by the vast Encouragement of the Privateers, the addition that will be made by the next Summer to their Navy, and we shall find *Trading by Sea* will in a little time be rendred almost impracticable. Add to this the P. of O's certain Design to betray our Trade to the *Dutch*, for it's impossible to avoid such a Reflexion, since no other Reason can be given for the detaining our *Turkey Fleet* above twelve months for want of Convoys, after they were ordered to be in a readiness. What other account can be given of the Ineffectualness of the Petition made by divers Merchants and Ensurers to the House of Commons now sitting, wherein they set forth their Losses of 190 Vessels taken by the *French* since the last Fight, (and I suppose they mentioned only such as belonged to the Port of *London*,) they were only slighted by the Committee, telling them opprobriously, they were not the chief Merchants of *London*, and demanded whether they would swear on their own Knowledge to the number of the Ships, and the particular Time and Place of their Taking, &c. whether they had applied themselves to the Lords of the Admiralty for Convoys, and when they answered that they had, they referred them to the Council Board, and the Council told them they could spare them none; the Committee quell'd the business, saying, the Council must have some Reasons why they could not grant them any. Does not all this appear to be a real Design to ruine our Commerce, and to gratifie the *Dutch*? And are not we forced by this means to trade with them for ready Cash, or Bullion, for those Commodities which we use to fetch in our own Bottoms from abroad? And if we do but reflect what a prodigious Summ of Money the Spices we annually take off from the *Dutch*, which we were wont to barter for with our *Tobaccoes*, *Sugars*, &c. from the *West-Indies*; and the Losses we have sustained during this War in our *Jamaica*, *Virginia*, and *Barbadoes* Fleets, by which means we are necessitated to part with our Coin in specie; the Interruption in our *East-India*, *Streights*, and *Levant* Trade, being hereby obliged to take those sorts of Goods at the second hand from them; the Decay in our Traffick, and the great hazard of utterly losing it, it will appear, to the eternal Reproach of our Mock-Deliver, the manifest Treachery of the Conservators of our Liberties and

Properties, and the Terror and (I hope in God) the just Regret of all those who are not yet willing to have their *Noses* and *Ears* cut off by the *curst* and *never to be forgiven Dutch*. This is not all, let us reflect upon his endeavours the last Session of Parliament to dissolve the *East-India Company*, which part of our Trade has been ever envied by those greedy *Mammonists*, and for many Years has been attempted to be engrossed by them; and you will easily foresee to what a weak condition the Trade of the Nation will be reduc'd, if not speedily prevented, which must require many Years to recover her pristine Wealth and Glory. In one Word, *All that's* valuable to us runs to wreck, Our *Religion* dwindling sensibly into downright *Atheism* and *Profaneness*, Our *Liberties* into *Slavery*, Our *Property* into *Beggary*, the *Honour* and Reputation of the *English Nation* into the utmost Contempt; the Constitution of our Government broken, and the People running more and more into Factions, the greatest part of them however disagreeing among themselves, dissatisfied with the present Government. Add to these Considerations, the certain *Prognosticks* of a decaying State; the lost Reputation of him who sits at the Helm; the growing Lukewarmness and Despondency of the People in general, occasioned by *immoderate Taxes*, want of Trade, the barbarous usage of our Soldiers by Land and Sea, *unsuccessfulness* in all the late noisy Projects, and the *known Strength* and Policy of the Enemy. Then consider and weigh seriously the *looseness* of the present *Clergy* both in *Principle* and *Practice*; as to the former *Atheists* more than *Christians*, asserting, ineffect, that *real* and *acknowledged* Evil may be done to good Ends, preaching up and practising Rebellion, *reviling* in their Sermons and *blaspheming* the *Lord's Anointed*, applauding the Wickedness of the *Usurper*, and blasphemously equallizing him to our *Blessed Saviour*, as some of them have most impudently done; and by justifying all his most flagitious Proceedings make themselves *accessory* and *Parties* to all he does, imbruing by that means their Hands in all that Innocent Blood of their Fellow-Subjects that has been spilt by that *Detestable Murderer*, to the subversion of the Monarchy, and all the Calamities that have ensued upon it, let them be of what quality soever, (since if they had done their Duties, all these Miseries had, morally speaking, been infallibly prevented, to the grand Honour of themselves and their Religion;) and so render themselves unfit to approach the Holy Altar of God; and to intercede for a Blessing upon his People: Thus by *their* means the Gates of Heaven are barr'd against us, and instead of *Blessings* we have *Plagues* and *Judgments*. The Degeneracy of the Priests has been ever lookt upon as a direful Forerunner of ensuing Destruction; and I am sure it must look very horridly, when the *Priests* shall pray and praise God for nothing but what's the effect of his Indignation, caused by the Sins of themselves, and the People misled by their wicked Examples, when they shall endeavour

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to harden and confirm them in the Sins they have drawn them into, and as much as ever they can prevent their Repentance; when they shall exhort them to take part with *Disobedient* and *Rebellious Children* against their *Parents*, to violate their *Allegiance*, expose their Bodies and Souls in a most *Unnatural Rebellion*, and pray to Heaven to prosper them in the very height, &c. of *Impiety*; What a Dishonour is this to God and Religion! What a Curse to the World! What an Injury to Men's Souls! And what can it portend but Vengeance, and (without a timely and extraordinary Repentance) inevitable Ruine? Neither can I omit putting my Fellow-Subjects in mind of that raging Pestilence in the *East Indies*, which has swept away Multitudes of our People; the never to be forgotten *Earthquake* in *Jamaica*, and those late *Monitory Shakings* which ran through all this Island, as well as a great part of the Territories of our *Wicked Confederates*: I shall not pretend to divine what may be the Consequence of them; but we never heard of an *Earthquake* in this Island but did certainly forerun some very remarkable *Calamity*. All I shall farther add is this, The only Refuge this Government has (for I find they don't think it safe to stand upon their own Legs,) is to keep up the *Confederacy*; This in reality will prove a rotten Reed, we may lean upon it, but it will run into our Hands and wound us, but never support us; it's grown already feeble and contemptible, and being originally founded in *Villany* there's little likelihood it will prosper. By the Experience of former Ages, *Confederacies* seldom or never performed great Atchievements. Their *Religions*, *Manners*, *Interests*, being for the most part different and contrary, their Consultations for that very Reason seldom prove effectual: And *Montuc* tells us, that two *Princes* designing to overcome a third never agree long; and gives you his own Experience, and that of preceding Times for it. And the most acute and judicious *Guicciardine* tells us, That *Confederacies* can never be so knitted and united, but that some or other of them will grow remiss, or go off from the rest; and then all is spoiled. And *Comines* adds, That if there be not *One* to over-rule and govern all the rest of the *Confederacy*, their Designs will be frustrated, and end in nothing but their own *Shame* and *Weakness*, and the *Glory* and *Advantage* of the *Common Enemy*. I might, if I dare take that Liberty, have produced a multitude of Examples of this Nature, but I hope any One's Reflection upon the Instances of this Age will save me that Trouble; and therefore will address my self to those of my Countrey-men who have had the misfortune to be misled, that since they have found all their Expectations deceived, themselves gull'd out of all those real Blessings of Government they formerly enjoyed, *Peace*, *Plenty*, *Liberty* and *Property*, and all that could render a People happy, by *One* whom a Man would be tempted to think could never have been procreated of *Humane Race*, void of all sense of *Religion*, *Justice*, *Honour*, and every Qualifica-

tion that is apt to conciliate Love or Veneration from Mankind; who has really forfeited the Crown by his own Act, having violated the very *Instrument of Government* he subscribed: One that has been the occasion of shedding more Christian Blood, on both Sides, than was spilt in the ten Persecutions, and meerly upon a *Sham Preience* of Religion to us; that it is their Interest and indispenfible Duty, if they have any fence of Goodness remaining, any fear of God before their Eyes, any respect for Religion, or love for their Souls, *any remorse for the Evil they have done, any Bowels for their own Countrey, any Charity for the rest of the World, to free these Nations of such a Plague and Curse, and if possibly, to redeem all those Blessings which have been so long with-held from us by his Means, by atoning God Almighty, by doing Justice to their highly injur'd King and Queen, to themselves, and to all Europe, and averting those dismal Plagues which otherwise e're long will fall upon their Heads: Otherwise let them do what they can, be as obstinate, malicious and revengeful as they please, if they be resolv'd yet to act wickedly they shall be consumed, both they and their King.*

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Pag. 6. Lin. 5. make a Comma after *that*. P. 10. l. 2. for *have* r. *having*. Pag. 15. l. 28. r. *the Confederacy*. P. 16. l. 4. for *miserable* r. *inevitable*. P. 17. l. 25. r. *peradventure will be*. P. 18. l. 6. after *Succession* add *to the Parliament*. P. 19. l. 3. r. *satisfied*. P. 22. l. 18. r. *encamp'd*. P. 29. l. ult. for *for* r. *from*.